

MESSIANISM AND ESCHATOLOGY IN THE QUMRAN SCROLLS

Robert Bruce Laurin

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MESSIANISM AND ESCHATOLOGY
IN THE
QUMRAN SCROLLS

being a Thesis presented by
ROBERT B. LAURIN, B.A., B.D., M.Th.
to the University of St. Andrews
in application for the degree of Ph.D.



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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the following Thesis is based on the results of investigation carried out by me, that the Thesis is my own composition, and that it has not previously been presented for a higher degree.

The Research was carried out in St. Mary's College of the University of St. Andrews.

CERTIFICATE

I certify that Robert B. Laurin has spent 9 terms in research on the subject, Messianism and Eschatology in the Qumran Scrolls, that he has fulfilled the conditions of Ordinance No. 16 (St. Andrews), and that he is qualified to submit the accompanying Thesis in application for the degree of Ph.D.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ab.Zar.
Agad.Shir ha-Shirim

AJT
ALBO

ASOR

ATR
b

BA
EASOR

EASOR SS

B.Bath.
BDB

Bek.
Ber.
BHT
BJRL
E.Kam.
E.Met.
BO
BZAW

CB
CBQ
CBSC

CD
Da.Zek.Mibb.ha-Toseph.
EB
Eduy.
ERE
Erub.
ET
ETH
EPL

Abodah Zarah
Agadath Shir ha-Shirim (S.Schechter, editor; JQR VI, 1893, pp. 673-697; VII, 1894, pp.145-163)
American Journal of Theology
Analecta Lovaniensia Biblica et Orientalia
American Schools of Oriental Research
Anglican Theological Review
Babylonian Talmud (Zhitomir, 1858-1864)
Biblical Archaeologist
Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Supplementary Studies
Baba Bathra
Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament
Bekhoroth
Berakhoth
Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
Baba Kamma
Baba Metzi'a
Bibliotheca Orientalis
Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
Century Bible
Catholic Biblical Quarterly
Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges
Zadokite Fragments
Da'ath Zekanim Mibba'ale ha-Toseph
Encyclopaedia Biblica
Eduyoth
Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics
Erubin
Expository Times
Evangelische Theologie
Ephemerides theologiae Lovanienses

ETR
FF
G

Gitt.

Hag.

Hor.

HTR

HUCA

ICC

I

JBL

JE

JJS

JL

JNES

JQR

JSS

JTS

Ket.

Kil.

KJV

LKTIVU

LXX

m

Meil.

Mek.

Mek. R. Ishmael

Mek. R. Simon

Men.

Midd.

Midr. Mishle

Midr. Tanh.

Midr. Tehil.

MT

NC

Nidd.

Études théologiques et religieuses
Forschungen und Fortschritte
Midrash ha-Gadol (in combination with
Lev. G.; E. N. Rabinowitz, editor;
Midrash ha-Gadol. Leviticus. New
York: Jewish Theological Seminary
1932.)

Gittin

Hagigah

Horayoth

Harvard Theological Review

Hebrew Union College Annual

International Critical Commentaries

Jerusalem Talmud (Amsterdam, 1710)

Journal of Biblical Literature

Jewish Encyclopedia

Journal of Jewish Studies

Jüdisches Lexicon

Journal of Near Eastern Studies

Jewish Quarterly Review

Journal of Semitic Studies

Journal of Theological Studies

Kethuboth

Kil'ayim

King James Version

H. Lietzmann's Kleine Texte für Vor-
lesungen und Übungen

Septuagint

Mishnah (Neller, Cracow, 1642-1644)

Me'ilah

Mekhilta (Friedmann, Wien, 1870)

Mekhilta d'Rabbi Ishmael (H. S. Horowitz and I. A. Rabin, editors; Mekhilta d'Rabbi Ishmael. Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. Frankfurt am Main: Kauffmann, 1928)

Mekhilta d'Rabbi Simon (Hoffmann, Frankfurt am Main, 1905)

Menahoth

Middoth

Midrash Mishle (Buber, Wilna, 1893)

Midrash Tanhumah (Buber, Wilna, 1888)

Midrash Tehillim (Buber, Wilna, 1891)

Massoretic Text

La Nouvelle Clé

Niddah

<u>NRT</u>	<u>Nouvelle revue théologique</u>
<u>NTS</u>	<u>New Testament Studies</u>
<u>Onk.</u>	<u>Onkelos (in combinations like Targ. Onk. Deut.)</u>
<u>OS</u>	<u>Oudtestamentische Studiën</u>
<u>PEQ</u>	<u>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</u>
<u>Pes.</u>	<u>Pesahin</u>
<u>Pes. R.</u>	<u>Pesikta Rabbathi (Friedmann, Wien, 1880)</u>
<u>R</u>	<u>Midrash Rabbah (in combinations like Num. R.; Amsterdam, 1777)</u>
<u>RE</u>	<u>Revue biblique</u>
<u>REJ</u>	<u>Revue des études juives</u>
<u>RGG</u>	<u>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</u>
<u>RHR</u>	<u>Revue de l'histoire des religions</u>
<u>REPR</u>	<u>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie</u>
<u>RSR</u>	<u>Recherches de science religieuse</u>
<u>RSV</u>	<u>Revised Standard Version</u>
<u>Sanh.</u>	<u>Sanhedrin</u>
<u>SBU</u>	<u>Symbolae Biblicae Upsalioneses</u>
<u>SC</u>	<u>Studia Catholica</u>
<u>SEA</u>	<u>Svensk Exegetisk Arsbok</u>
<u>Shabb.</u>	<u>Shabbath</u>
<u>Shok.</u>	<u>Shekalim</u>
<u>SJT</u>	<u>Scottish Journal of Theology</u>
<u>Sot.</u>	<u>Sotah</u>
<u>SPOK</u>	<u>Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge</u>
<u>Sukk.</u>	<u>Sukkah</u>
<u>Ta'an.</u>	<u>Ta'anith</u>
<u>Targ.</u>	<u>Targum</u>
<u>Test.</u>	<u>Testament (in combinations like Test. Levi)</u>
<u>ThLZ</u>	<u>Theologische Literaturzeitung</u>
<u>TWzNT</u>	<u>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</u>
<u>UJE</u>	<u>Universal Jewish Encyclopedia</u>
<u>UP</u>	<u>United Presbyterian</u>
<u>VD</u>	<u>Verbum Domini</u>
<u>VT</u>	<u>Vetus Testamentum</u>
<u>Yob.</u>	<u>Yebamoth</u>
<u>Yeru.</u>	<u>Yerushalmi (in combinations like Targ. Yeru. Ex.)</u>
<u>ZAW</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</u>
<u>ZDMG</u>	<u>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</u>

Zob.ZKTZNWZRGZTKIQHIQHfragIQIs^aIQIs^bIQMIQpHabIQSIQSaIQSbZebahimZeitschrift für katholische TheologieZeitschrift für die neutestamentliche WissenschaftZeitschrift für Religions- und GeistesgeschichteZeitschrift für Theologie und KirchePsalms of ThanksgivingPsalms of Thanksgiving (fragments)
(Suknik, 'Otzar, pp.53-58)St. Mark's Isaiah ScrollHebrew University Isaiah ScrollWar ScrollHabakkuk CommentaryManual of DisciplineRule of the CongregationBenedictions

Note: As an American I have sought to use spelling and diction consistent with standard American practice. All translations of Biblical, Rabbinic, and Qumran texts are my own, unless otherwise specified. The renderings in The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English (R.H.Charles, editor) have been followed in all quotations from these works. The translation of W.Whiston has been used in all references to Josephus, while C.D.Yongo has been quoted for the material from Philo. Traditional Hebrew pronunciation has been followed, except in references to modern Hebrew publications, and in the use of the more popular "Hodayot" to designate the Psalms of Thanksgiving.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

When the Zadokite Fragments were first published in 1910 it was discovered that the Jewish group to which these documents belonged had a rather curious Messianic hope.¹ They waited for the rising of the "Messiah of Aaron and Israel".

(The righteous) shall escape in the time of visitation, but the rest shall be given over to the sword when the Messiah of Aaron and Israel shall come (בְּנֵאֻם מְשִׁיחַ אַהֲרֹן וְיִשְׂרָאֵל; CD 19:10,11)²

Since that time there has been much controversy and discussion concerning the meaning of the phrase. The lack of further evidence, and the enigmatic form of the statement, have prevented any final answer being given. With the discovery of the Qumran Scrolls in 1947 the problem has, in a sense, been further complicated. The familiar Messianic

1. Cf. S. Schechter, Documents of Jewish Sectaries, vol. 1, Fragments of a Zadokite Work (Cambridge: University Press, 1910).

2. Cf. also 19:35-20:1; 12:23; 14:19. Ch. Rabin, The Zadokite Documents (Oxford: Clarendon, 1954), p. 67, conjectures בְּנֵאֻם מְשִׁיחַ אַהֲרֹן וְיִשְׂרָאֵל in the lacuna in 13:21. S. Schechter, op. cit., p. llii, note 11, M.-J. Lagrange, "La secte juive de la nouvelle alliance au pays de Damas", RB IX (XXI), 1912, p. 235, and Stärk (quoted by L. Rost, Die Damaskusschrift Berlin: de Gruyter, 1933), p. 23) would emend the text of 12:23 to read מְשִׁיחַ אַהֲרֹן וְיִשְׂרָאֵל instead of מְשִׁיחַ אַהֲרֹן וְיִשְׂרָאֵל.

hope of the Zadokite Fragments is seen once again, but this time with two important additions---the prior appearance of a prophet, and the expectation of more than one anointed figure.

(The men of the community) shall not depart from the whole counsel of the Torah to walk in all their hardness of heart, but they shall be ruled by the first laws by which the men of the community began to be disciplined until the coming of a prophet and the anointed ones of Aaron and Israel (עַל בְּרֵאשִׁית וְעַל אֲרֵיבָהּ ; LQS 9:9-11).

This additional textual evidence, though giving valuable information, has not really brought the problem closer to any positive solution. What is the explanation of the change from the singular to the plural "anointed ones"? Who is the "prophet"? What is the meaning of the term "Aaron and Israel"?

These questions of course form only a part of the larger eschatological problem. The Qumran Scrolls were written in the midst of a period of intense apocalyptic activity, during the time between 200 B.C. and 70 A.D.³ One wonders

3. There are some who disagree with this date---S. Zeitlin, "The Antiquity of the Hebrew Scrolls and the Piltown Hoax, a Parallel", JQR XLV, 1954-1955, pp.1-29, etc. (Medieval times); G.R.Driver, "Once Again the Judean Scrolls", JQR XLIV, 1953-1954, pp.1-20 (2nd-5th A.D.); P.R.Weis, "The Date of the Habakkuk Scroll", JQR XLI, 1950-1951, pp.147,151 (10th A.D.); J.Reider, "The Dead Sea Scrolls", JQR XLI, 1950-1951, p.70 (3rd or 4th A.D.)---but their number is small, and the assured opinion of the majority of scholars is that the dates given above are correct. Cf. M.Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls (New York: Viking, 1955), pp.118,119; H.H.Rowley, The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), pp.59-61.

then whether they exhibit the novel doctrines of the contemporary literature, whether they have broken away from the traditional dogmas of the Old Testament, how much they have fallen under the sway of apocalyptic modes of thought. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to attempt to give an answer to the following question---how did the Qumran sect conceive of the future?

A. Method of Approach

There are eight basic topics that will be discussed: (1) the Teacher of Righteousness, (2) the nature of the eschaton, (3) the place of the righteous, (4) the abode of the dead, (5) the problem of resurrection, (6) the view of the kingdom, (7) the question of immortality, and (8) the person and role of the Messiah. These cover the major areas of thought involved in the question of the sect's future hopes. It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the possible Iranian or Babylonian or Greek origins to the doctrines exhibited in the Scrolls, nor to examine in detail the immediate literary background. Rather the Old Testament, extra-canonical, and Rabbinic contribution to the specific subject at hand will be briefly sketched, and then the actual evidence of the Scrolls will be discussed in full. Each scroll will be examined individually, as there is no presupposed agreement between the texts. The final chapter will summarize the

conclusions of each topic, noticing their place in the development of doctrine. In appendices I will discuss certain questions not directly bearing on the subject of eschatology or Messianism. These have to do with the meaning of the interesting phrase "new covenant", the organization of the sect, the statements of Josephus and Hippolytus concerning the eschatological beliefs of the Essenes, and a suggested order for the composition of the various scrolls. Problems of date and historical identification are left undiscussed as they fall outside the scope of this paper. The whole study will of necessity be incomplete, for all of the Qumran material has not been published. The texts and fragments that are available have been utilized to the fullest extent.

B. The Texts

The title of this paper indicates that it has to do with the "Qumran Scrolls". By "Qumran" I mean those documents found in the Qumran caves, the texts belonging to the Qumran sect. The Zadokite Fragments are not strictly speaking Qumran scrolls, having been found in a Cairo genizah and first published in 1910. However there can be no doubt that they were part of the Qumran literature, as the discovery of a

fragment of this work in cave 6 shows.⁴

Basically there are nine documents which are examined in this paper. There are various other texts which are used whenever possible, but their fragmentary nature prohibits any general use. In designating the documents I have followed the abbreviations proposed by R. de Vaux.⁵ A brief description of the important texts is as follows:

1. St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll (1QIs^a).⁶ This scroll comprises the full sixty-six chapters of the book. It is well-preserved, though considerably worn in places, and contains fifty-four columns. The text itself is written in Aramaic or square characters, with the form of the letters (as with most of the Scrolls) resembling those in Palestinian inscriptions from around the first century before Christ. The text shows fairly general agreement with the Massoretic text, though there are many differences in detail, including some interesting possible Messianic changes. It has gone through

4. Cf. A. Dupont-Sommer, The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes (London: Vallentine, Mitchell, 1954), pp. 173, 174. For links between the Scrolls and the Zadokite Fragments, cf. S. Zeitlin, "The Zadokite Fragments", JQR Monograph Series, no. 1, 1952, p. 5; H. H. Rowley, op. cit., pp. 31ff.

5. R. de Vaux, "Fouille au Khirbet Qumrân", RB LX, 1953, pp. 87, 88.

6. M. Burrows, J. C. Trever, W. H. Brownlee, The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, vol. 1, The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary (New Haven: ASOR, 1950), pls. I-LIV.

the hands of several correctors, for at various points erasures and corrections have been made. The original scribe added a letter or word here and there in the margin, but the greater corrections were made by a later hand.

2. The Hebrew University Isaiah Scroll (1QIs^b).⁷ This manuscript contains only a portion of the book of Isaiah. It consists of one large piece and several smaller ones. The large piece contains chapters 38-66, while the smaller fragments comprise parts of chapters 10, 13, 19-30, and 35-40. The script is difficult to read in many places, due to deterioration, and infra-red photography was needed to ascertain the writing. Unlike 1QIs^a it follows closely, with very few exceptions, the Massoretic text.

3. The Manual of Discipline (1QS).⁸ The title, first suggested by M.Burrows,⁹ describes fairly well the contents of the scroll. It is a manual containing regulations for maintaining discipline in the Qumran sect. This involves, among other things, the directions for admitting new members and for the annual "renewing" of the covenant, the rules for

7. E.L.Sukenik, 'Otzar ha-Megillot ha-Genuzot (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1954), pls. I-15.

8. M.Burrows, J.C.Trever, W.H.Brownlee, The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, vol. ii, fasc. 2, Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline (New Haven: ASOR, 1951), pls. I-XI.

9. Cf. M.Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, pp.24,25.

purity, for baptism, for offenses against the community, for excommunication, for the organization of the sect, for the ritual at meals, and for the cleansing of sins. Many of the regulations are unique to the Scrolls and do not reflect the practice of normative Judaism. The whole scroll is really geared to one event---the eschaton, and so in a sense the group is living under an "interim ethic". They are abiding by their special rules "until the coming of a prophet and the anointed ones of Aaron and Israel" (9:11). Various sections relate the place of the sect in the final days, and we catch traces of a Suffering Servant doctrine, as well as the hope of personal vindication against their enemies. There is an emphasis, as in all the Scrolls, on the place of the Torah in the life of the community. It is the diligent study of God's Law that will prepare for His coming (8:12ff.). This passive role is quite antithetical to the place of the Christian who is to be an active witness in the final days (Matt. 24:14). The final chapters of the Manual contain a hymn or psalm expressing praise to God and assurance of ultimate association with Him and His angels.

The scroll has been fairly well preserved. Column 1 has some damage to the first two lines, and all except the last column are missing parts of from one to three lines on the bottom. However it is not certain how many columns are missing, for it is clear that the present document does not

contain the beginning section.

4. The Psalms of Thanksgiving (Hodayot; 1QH).¹⁰ This collection is comprised of 18 columns and 66 fragments. There are many lacunae, for the scroll has deteriorated badly, however there is enough, especially in the earlier columns, to piece together some interesting and provocative statements.

The style and content of the Hodayot, as many scholars have noticed, quite clearly reflect the Old Testament Psalter, and probably the numerous "I" passages which make up the bulk of the scroll are to be understood in the corporate sense of the Biblical Psalms. However the Psalter does not provide the only literary background. The columns and fragments find parallels in such as I Enoch, IV Ezra, and II Baruch. Ever present are the familiar מִן הַחַיִּים hidden from the unrighteous or uninitiated, the deterministic view of history, the use of symbolism, and the extra-mundane picture of the future. The Old Testament historical books provide the foundational background for the scroll's apocalyptic-type prophecies. Isaiah's Suffering Servant appears from time to time. The "Day of Jahveh" of the prophets echoes and re-echoes in almost every column. Indeed the authors of the Hodayot draw their materials from almost the entire range of Old Testament writings, shaping them and fitting them to answer the problems

10. E.L.Sukenik, op. cit., pls. 35-58.

that confronted them in their day.

The place of these Psalms in the life of the community is uncertain. Perhaps they were used as a blessing given at the beginning of meals, or at the communal gathering. J.P.Hyatt suggests that they were spoken at the daily morning and evening prayers, such as we find outlined in the concluding psalm in the Manual of Discipline (cf. 10:1ff.).¹¹ Some of them may have formed the basis of the high priest's address to the troops prior to battle, as similar type utterances in the War Scroll indicate.

The authorship of the Psalms is also in doubt. It appears that many of them were written by the maskilim of the sect, as indeed we read in 12:11, "and I, a wise man (לְיָסֵד), have known Thee, my God, by the spirit which Thou gavest to me". Elsewhere we see that the author was one who instructed the community (2:13; 6:9-11; 11:5-7). Some of the Psalms may have been authored by the Teacher of Righteousness. J.P.Hyatt lists various autobiographical descriptions in the Psalms which he claims show the authorship of the Teacher of Righteousness. But every description mentioned may just as easily apply to any of the maskilim of the sect.¹²

11. J.P.Hyatt, "The View of Man in the Qumran 'Hodayot'", NTS II, 1956, p.276.

12. Ibid., p.277.

It is certain in any case that the Psalms of Thanksgiving is not a document by one author, but is rather an anthology, a collection of 11772, probably gleaned from the leaders of the sect. This is emphasized by the fact that the hand of two, and possibly three, scribes is noticeable in the scroll.

5. The Habakkuk Commentary (1QpHab).¹³ This is one of the most important scrolls for the historical identification of the sect. However the various events and persons referred to are veiled in cryptic language and it is often difficult to understand the meaning. Undoubtedly when the scroll was written the historical allusions were clear in the reader's mind, but now their interpretation is a subject of much debate.

The purpose of the author is to show how the events of his day were prophesied by Habakkuk. The method he employs is to quote a few words or lines of the text of Habakkuk, and then to follow this with a Rabbinic-type explanation in terms of the history of the sect. The style of commenting reminds one of Rashi or Ibn Ezra, although it is not exactly the same. H.H.Rowley writes, "Actually it is neither a Commentary nor a Midrash in the ordinary sense of either term, but rather an application of a Biblical text to current

13. M.Burrows, J.C.Trever, W.H.Brownlee, op. cit., vol. 1, pls. LV-LXI.

events, and interpretation in terms of those events".¹⁴ For example, Habakkuk 1:6,7 is quoted, "to possess dwellings not his. Dreadful and fearsome is he, whose judgment and destruction proceed from him", and this is followed by the commentary, "Its meaning concerns the Kittim who (are arrayed with) their terror against all nations. And in counsel all their purposes are to do evil, and with cunning and deceit they come with all peoples" (1QpHab 3:2-6).¹⁵ Similar type commentary occurs in the Zadokite Fragments and the Manual of Discipline, but the whole of the Habakkuk Commentary is concerned with this type of exegesis. Aside from the mention of the Kittim, we find the Teacher of Righteousness, the wicked priest, the man of untruth, the house of Absalom, and various tantalizing statements, such as the fact that the Kittim "sacrifice to their standards" (6:4).¹⁶

The beginning column of the scroll has been lost, but the rest is fairly complete, except that there is some damage to the bottoms of the columns. The Commentary covers only

14. H.H.Rowley, op. cit., p.8, note 2.

15. Cf. W.H.Brownlee, "The Jerusalem Habakkuk Scroll", BASOR 112, 1948, p.10.

16. Cf. M.Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, pp.123ff.; H.H. Rowley, op. cit., pp.31ff. for discussion of these terms.

the first two chapters of Habakkuk. It is clear that this was intentional, for the last column takes up only a small portion of the space.

6. The War of the Sons of Light with the Sons of Darkness (1QM).¹⁷ The nineteen columns of the text are in good condition, except for the fact that the bottom parts are badly damaged. The text contains the rules for the wars which will restore Israel to world domination. It is a conflict between the "sons of light", the righteous remnant, and the "sons of darkness", the wicked. At first (column 1) only the tribes of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin take part, but later (column 2) we notice that all the twelve tribes participate. Their enemies are sometimes specifically named. So we find mention of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Philistia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Persia, Ishmael, Ham, the Kittim of Asshur, the Kittim of Egypt, and others. The war, though truly a physical one, yet is a supernatural and eschatological one, for in the destruction of Israel's traditional enemies the downfall of Belial and evil is also brought about.

The identification of the historical references is still a matter of doubt. Probably the war contemplated was one

17. E.L. Sukenik, op. cit., pls. 16-34; Y. Yadin, Megillat Milhemet Benay 'Or Bihney Hoshelk (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1955), pp. 254-368.

that was just on the horizon. The enemy was oppressing the Hebrew people, and in good apocalyptic fashion the author wrote of the soon uprising of the remnant, which in reality would mean the arrival of the eschaton. The abundant references to God and to His part in the war, plus the fact that the conflict is between "light" and "darkness", show the eschatological viewpoint of the writer.

7. The Rule of the Congregation (1QSa).¹⁸ This is not really a scroll, for it only comprises two columns. Except for a few lacunae the columns are complete; the hand of a corrector is only met occasionally. The Rule was at one time attached to the Manual of Discipline, as various evidences show, but it is questionable whether it was actually part of that document. D.Barthélemy believes that the Rule is a distinct text that was merely copied at the beginning of the Manual. He suggests that 1QSa is Hasidian, while 1QS is Essene.¹⁹

The purpose of this scroll is to give various regulations for the operation of the sect "in the last days" (1:1). It is concerned with instructions for newcomers, with the stages

18. D.Barthélemy and J.T.Milik, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I. Qumran Cave I (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), pp.108-111.

19. Ibid., p.108.

of training for the male Israelites, with the rules for general meetings, and the order of seating when the Messiah is present, and with the ritual to be followed at the meal when the Messiah attends. As it can be seen these two columns are of great importance for understanding the Messianic concepts of the sect.

8. The Benedictions (1QSb).²⁰ These fragments were part of the same manuscript roll as 1QS and 1QSa. The condition of the text is very poor, due to the fact that it was on the outside of the roll. There are five fragmentary columns, though J.T.Milik suggests that originally there were at least six.²¹ In these columns we find Old Testament style blessings given to the faithful, the priests, the Messiah, and possibly the high priest, stressing their place in the kingdom age. Milik does not think that they were ever used in the actual liturgy of the sect, but were probably a "composition livresque" inspired by the brief formulas found at the beginning of 1QS.²² There are many eschatological references, especially to the post-eschaton days.

20. D.Barthélemy and J.T.Milik, op. cit., pp.118-129.

21. Ibid., p.119.

22. Ibid., p.120.

9. The Zadokite Fragments (CD).²³ Basically there are two "Fragments" or texts, and in neither do we have the complete manuscript. Chapters 1-8 and 19-20 (texts A1 and B in Rost's edition) form one section, and chapters 9-16 (text A2) form the other. The first is concerned largely with the history of the sect and the coming days of the Messiah. Ch.Rabin believes that this division is "all of it a mosaic of quotations, both from O.T. and other, now lost, writings, a clever presentation of testimonia, not a history".²⁴ But history is undoubtedly outlined, as we shall see, even though it may be overlain with various quotations. It is history presented, at many times, in the manner of the Habakkuk Commentary, that is, by a unique application of proof texts.

The second section deals chiefly with various halakhoth which closely resemble Rabbinic law. Rules for bathing, for sacrifice, for ritual cleanliness, for conduct with women, for observance of the Sabbath, and for many other aspects of the sect's life are found.

Familiar figures and concepts reappear in both sections ---the Teacher of Righteousness, the Messiah of Aaron and

23. S.Schechter, op. cit..; L.Rost, op. cit..; S.Zeitlin, op. cit..; Ch.Rabin, op. cit.

24. Ch.Rabin, op. cit., p.ix.

Israel, the man of untruth---but also we read of an emigration to Damascus, a new covenant, and the man of scorn.

Ch.Rabin suggests that both of the texts (A1-A2 and B) are faulty copies of one archetype.²⁵ This is undoubtedly true, for the date of the manuscripts is in the Middle Ages, but their language and ideas show that they go back to the sect of Qumran, and therefore they must be copies.

C. A Review of Previous Work

There has been no work on the over-all eschatology and Messianism of the Scrolls. Many journal articles and books have discussed various facets of the problem, but none has sought to synthesize the whole teaching. It would not be feasible here to give an exhaustive historical treatment of those who have commented on this problem. At this juncture let us be content merely with a brief outline of the main points of view. A more detailed examination of the competing interpretations will be taken up in the following pages.

The main scholarly effort in this field has been expended on the Messianic problem. There are three basic views---the Teacher of Righteousness redivivus, two Messiahs, and one Messiah.

25. Ch.Rabin, op. cit., p.viii.

1. The Teacher of Righteousness redivivus. A פתח חיים, the founder of the Qumran sect, the one who led the break with the official Judaism of the day, after living a life similar to that of Jesus Christ, and after being killed at the hands of a Jewish high priest, was to return as the Messiah in the "end of days". Christianity is another version of the same story. The key phrase for this view is CD 6:11, "until there shall arise he who teaches righteousness in the end of days".²⁶

26. S. Schochter, op. cit., pp. xii, xiii; A. Dupont-Sommer, The Dead Sea Scrolls (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), pp. 34ff., 99; The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes, pp. 38-57; J. Jeremias, "Messiah", WZNT, IV, pp. 865, 866; M. H. Segal, "The Habakkuk 'Commentary' and the Damascus Fragments", JBL LXX, 1951, pp. 131-147; R. Goossens, "Onias le Juste, le Messie de la Nouvelle Alliance, lapidé à Jérusalem en 65 avant J.-C.", NC II, 1950, pp. 336-353; A. J. B. Higgins, "Priest and Messiah", VT III, 1953, pp. 321-336; C. T. Fritsch, The Qumran Community, Its History and Scrolls (New York: Macmillan, 1956), pp. 81-83; W. D. Davies, "'Knowledge' in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Matthew 11:25-30", HTR XLVI, 1953, p. 127; J. Schousboe, La secte juive de l'Alliance Nouvelle au pays de Damas et le Christianisme naissant (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1942), p. 47; K. Kohler, "Dositheus, the Samaritan Heresiarch and his Relations to Jewish and Christian Doctrines and Sects (A Study of Professor Schechter's Recent Publication)", AJT XV, 1911, pp. 404-435; Kohler says that the Teacher of Righteousness was Dositheus, the Samaritan heresiarch, who claimed to be the Messiah from the Samaritan line of the Zadokite priesthood; J. L. Teicher, "The Damascus Fragments and the Origin of the Jewish Christian Sect", JJS II, 1951, pp. 115-143; "Jesus in the Habakkuk Scroll", JJS III, 1952, pp. 53-55; "Material Evidence of the Christian Origin of the Dead Sea Scrolls", JJS III, 1952, pp. 128-132; "The Habakkuk Scroll", JJS V, 1954, pp. 47-59; etc.; Teicher claims that the Teacher of Righteousness was Jesus. However H. H. Rowley, (cont.)

2. Two Messiahs. After the martyrdom of the Teacher of Righteousness, the sect awaited the coming of two "anointed ones", a Messiah from Aaron and a Messiah from Israel. It is generally held that the Messiah of Aaron (the high priest) would be the supreme leader, while the Messiah of Israel (a layman) would be the so-called "secular arm" of the sect,²⁷ the one who would lead the holy war. This view has been propounded since the days of the publication of GD in 1910. The phrase משיח אהרן וְ משיח ישראל (GD 19:11; cf. 20:1; 12:23; 14:19) is taken as meaning "the Messiah from Aaron and (the Messiah) from Israel". It has received strong support from LQS 9:11 and its plural משיחין, from the close affinities with the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (where many see two Messiahs), from LQSa which

27. D.Barthélemy and J.T.Milik, op. cit., p.129.

op. cit., pp.55ff. has clearly shown the weaknesses of this view. E.Wiesenberg, "Chronological Data in the Zadokite Fragments", VT V, 1955, pp.306-308, combines a redivivus view with a two Messiah theory, seeing a parallel between the Messiah ben Joseph-Messiah ben David tradition and the Teacher of Righteousness redivivus and the arising of the Messiah of Aaron and Israel. J.V.Chamberlain, "The Functions of God as Messianic Titles in the Complete Qumran Isaiah Scroll", VT V, 1955, p.368, note 2, does not commit himself, but suggests the redivivus theory as a good option.

speaks of the advent at the end of days of the "priest" and the "Messiah of Israel", from 1QSB and 1QM in which two figures are seen in the eschatological period, and from the parallels in Jewish history of Moses-Aaron, Zerubbabel-Joshua, and Bar Kokheba-Eleazar.²⁸

3. One Messiah. Holding to the same basic interpretation of the early history of the sect, this view understands the phrase "Messiah of Aaron and Israel" as a reference to only one man. He is not necessarily a son of David. The phrase "Aaron and Israel" is taken as a title of the sect as a whole, not as distinguishing the

28. N.Wieder, "The 'Law-Interpreter' of the Sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Moses", JJS IV, 1953, pp. 158-175; "The Doctrine of Two Messiahs among the Karaites", JJS VI, 1955, pp.14-25; M.Burrows, "The Messiahs of Aaron and Israel", ATR XXXIV, 1952, pp.202-206; The Dead Sea Scrolls, pp.264,265; L.Ginzberg, Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte, I (New York, 1922), pp.317-363; J.T.Milik, "Elenchus textuum ex Caverna Maris Mortui", VD XXX, 1952, p.39; D.Barthélemy and J.T.Milik, op. cit., pp.102-118; K.G.Kuhn, "Die beiden Messias Aarons und Israels", NTS I, 1955, pp.168-179; G.R. Beasley-Murray, "The Two Messiahs in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs", JTS XLVIII, 1947, p.11; G.Molin, Die Söhne des Lichtes. Zeit und Stellung der Handschriften vom Toten Meer (Wien: Herold, 1954), p.148; J.M.Allegro, The Dead Sea Scrolls (Pelican Books: A376, 1956), pp.148-154; G.Margoliouth, "The Two Zadokite Messiahs", JTS XII, 1911, pp.446-450; "The Sadducean Christians of Damascus", Expositor II (8th series), 1911, pp.499-517. He made a distinction between the Messiah of Aaron and Israel and the Messiah of unknown descent (the Teacher of Righteousness redivivus); the former he identified with John the Baptist, the latter with Jesus. As we shall see, others also combine a two Messiah and a Teacher of Righteousness redivivus theory.

tribal source of two different Messiahs.²⁹

The eschatological details of the Scrolls have been to a large extent neglected in scholarly discussion. Briefly

29. I. Lévi, "Un écrit sadducéen antérieur à la destruction du Temple", REJ LXI, 1911, pp.161-205; LXIII, 1912, pp. 1-19; M.-J. Lagrange, op. cit., pp.213-240, 321-360; H. del Medico, Deux Manuscrits hébreux de la Mer Morte: essai de traduction du 'Manuel de Discipline' et au 'Commentaire d'Habacuc' avec notes et commentaires (Paris: Geuthner, 1951, pp.33,67; he translates 1QS 9:11, "jusqu'à ce qu'arrive le prophète et Messie d'Aaron et d'Israel", supplying the definite article before "prophète"; P. Volz, Die Eschatologie der jüdische Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter (Tübingen: Mohr, 1934), pp.192,193; H.H. Rowley, op. cit., p.41; R.H. Charles, Fragments of a Zadokite Work (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912), pp.xii-xvi; he saw three distinct figures in the sect---the founder who is called the Lawgiver (CD 6:7) and the Star (CD 7:18), the Teacher of Righteousness who was to arise in the "end of days" (CD 6:11), and the Messiah who would come about forty years after the death of the Teacher (CD 20:14) to make known the Holy Spirit to the remnant (CD 2:9ff.) and to destroy all the wicked (CD 20:26). He understood the phrase "Messiah of Aaron and Israel" as meaning a Messiah from a priestly and a lay family. This he sought to identify with either Alexander or Aristobulus, the sons of Mariamne (the priestly side, for she was a Maccabean) and Herod (the lay side); W.H. Brownlee, "The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline", BASOR SS 10-12, pp.35,36, note 19; appendix D, p.50; he interprets 1QS 9:11 as "until there shall come the Messiah and his anointed followers"; however in "Messianic Motifs of Qumran and the New Testament II", NTS III, 1957, to be published, he changes to the two Messiah view. J.P. Audet, "Affinités littéraires et doctrinales du 'Manuel de Discipline'", RB LIX, 1952, p.232; Bo Reicke, Handskriften från Qumran (eller 'Ain Feshcha) I-III (SBU XIV. Uppsala: Wretman, 1952), p.70, note 54; I. Rabinowitz, "A Reconsideration of 'Damascus' and '390 Years' in the 'Damascus' ('Zadokite') Fragments", JBL LXXIII, 1954, p.28; G. Lambert, "Le Manuel de Discipline de désert de Juda. Etude historique et traduction intégrale", ALBO II, fasc. 23, 1951, p.35, note 83; L.H. Silberman, "The Two 'Messiahs' of the Manual of Discipline", VT V, 1955, pp.77,78.

what has evolved from those who have considered the problem is as follows:

1. At the end of this age, after much suffering, the righteous of Israel, empowered and implemented by the armies of heaven, would rise up under the leadership of the Messiah to destroy their physical and spiritual foes. Jahweh Himself is seen as descending to wield the sword. The world would be consumed by fire and evil would be destroyed. The Psalms of Thanksgiving and the War Scroll in particular have indicated this teaching. The details of the kingdom in this scheme have not been discussed.

2. The Servant motif of Isaiah played a large part in the sect's concept of its mission. The whole group, as the corporate Servant, would bring to the world prophetic witness (Isa. 43:10), priestly atonement (Isa. 53), and royal judgment (Isa. 42:1). Some have argued further that the corporate Servant found its full realization in the leader of the sect, the Teacher of Righteousness, who accomplished the work of atonement described in Isaiah 52 and 53. Others see the Messiah as the Suffering Servant.

3. The great day of God's visitation would be the signal for the opening of the graves. The righteous and unrighteous dead would be raised to meet their respective fates.

4. The wicked would be judged and cast into the fires

of Gehenna. This interpretation is based partly on 1QpHab 10:5 which speaks of judging the wicked with a "fire of brimstone".

5. The righteous would rise to heaven to enjoy a blessed immortality in the presence of God and His angels. All knowledge and wisdom would be theirs. Some interpret the evidence to show an immortality of both body and soul.

These in general have been the main lines of eschatological and Messianic investigation. Those scholars who do allude to the eschatology or Messianism of the Scrolls, either in an edition of a text or in an article on some other subject, follow the interpretations given above.

D. Definition of Terms

In any study of this nature a correct understanding of the important terms is an absolute necessity. Too often scholarly battles have been waged in Quixotic fashion against opponents that do not in reality exist. The field of eschatology and Messianism especially has had its share of obscure ideas and mis-used terminology. Therefore to avoid confusion from the start I will define the content of four important terms used in this paper: eschatology, apocalyptic, Messiah, and Messianism.

1. Eschatology. In a word, I understand "eschatology" to signify the expectation of a definite end. There are

certain ideas or expressions which are part of an eschatological statement, as we shall see later on, but in its essence "eschatology" refers to the point in history at which things come to a conclusion. The statement by S.B. Frost perhaps best sums up this viewpoint.

Eschatology we understand to be a congeries of beliefs and ideas which are marked by the expectation of a future event which is the effective End in the mind of the one using the term. There is an eschatology which is concerned with an eschaton in history, rather than of history; there is an eschaton which is conceived to be the end of history altogether; but in either case the looked-for event is the ultima thule of thought. The person concerned no more asks what follows the eschaton than does the child ask what follows 'they lived happy ever after', or the Marxist attempt to peer beyond the sublimation of the historical process in the classless society. Only conceptions marked by that sense of finality are properly eschatological and the term should be reserved for them.³⁰

Thus an eschaton "in" history is a time when great events take place---usually a supernatural battle, earthquakes, fire, hail, the destruction of evil---but history continues on the earth, even though it is on a renewed earth. It is the end of one era, the beginning of another. Such an eschaton marks the dividing line between what the Rabbis called "this world" (העולם הזה) and "the days of the Messiah" (ימי המשיח).³¹ But an eschaton "of" history brings the

30. S.B.Frost, Old Testament Apocalyptic. Its Origins and Growth (London: Epworth, 1952), p.32.

31. Cf. bSanh. 97a, 99a; mBer. 1:8; JKil. 1:7.

present world to a final conclusion. There are no after events, for history is at an end. It is a time of judgment. The wicked go to everlasting punishment in hell, and the righteous go to eternal life in heaven. The Rabbis viewed this eschaton as the separation between the Messianic days and "the world to come" (עוֹלָם הַבָּא) or "the future" (תְּהוֹמוֹת הָעָתִיד, literally, "that which is designated to come").³²

2. Apocalyptic. H.Wheeler Robinson defines apocalyptic as:

(1) It is deliberately pseudonymous and not simply anonymous; . . . (2) its view of history is deterministic, following the divine appointment (e.g. 4(2)Esdras 4³⁷) and culminating in some crisis which is that of the writer's own age (Dan. 11^{31ff.}); (3) its emphasis is thus on the future and tends more and more to become extra-mundane, in contrast with the prophetic conception of a Kingdom of God in this world (though this may be included); (4) apocalyptic is literary, not oral, and is marked by the excessive use of symbolism, the use of animal figures being especially noticeable.³³

In other words, "apocalyptic" is the term for that type of literature which describes the end in a certain unique manner.

32. Although the distinction between the "days of the Messiah" and the "world to come" is sometimes confused in Rabbinic literature; cf. J.Klausner, The Messianic Idea in Israel (London: Allen and Unwin, 1956), pp.408-413; also bZeb. 118b; bAb.Zar. 3b.

33. H.W.Robinson, "The Religion of Israel", A Companion to the Bible (T.W.Manson, editor; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1939), pp.307,308.

S.B.Frost calls it the "mythologizing of eschatology".³⁴ Thus what an apocalyptic writer does is to take a general eschatological hope and clothe it in certain symbolic or "mythological" forms. Or more simply, he gets specific about what is usually described in general terms. But it is the way in which he gets specific that characterizes his writings. As H.W.Robinson says, he uses many symbols, he emphasizes the supernatural, he views history as divided into "periods", and he sees the imminent end of the present age. Most often he uses various common "mythological" frameworks or story patterns to describe the future. These are generally known as the Conflict, Savior, Golden Age, and Judgment "myths". So an apocalyptic writer, viewing the future, seeing the truth of a coming eschaton, and wanting to express the details of this event, used these forms. He could not describe the event in factual language because it had not yet taken place, so these "myths" or story forms, common to Semitic cultures, were used for what he thought would take place. Thus the truth lies not in the mythological form, but in the content. It is the eschatology which is the truth, the body of the matter, and it is the myth which is only the dress, though under the circumstances the necessary dress. Therefore any

34. S.B.Frost, op. cit., p.33.

literature that depicts the future in this highly symbolic, mythological dress is apocalyptic.

The important point to grasp is the distinction between eschatology and apocalyptic. Eschatology is the term for the expectation of an effective end, but apocalyptic is the word for that type of literature which describes the end in a special way, which clothes a broad eschatological hope with specific details. So it is possible to speak of the eschatology of apocalyptic.³⁵

3. Messiah. The Old Testament man did not look for a "Messiah", nor could he have under the presuppositions that he held. God was to initiate the end; He was to bring the kingdom. There would be a Davidic descendant to rule the new age, but he would assume the throne when God had subdued Israel's enemies. There is only one passage, Isaiah 9:1-6, which seems to be an exception to this, but even here it is "the zeal of the Lord of hosts" that "will do this" (9:6).³⁶ It was only after there emerged the real emphasis

35. While certain parts of the Old Testament are "apocalyptic", the term "apocalyptic literature", as used here, refers to that body of writings belonging approximately to the period 200 B.C.-100 A.D.; cf. W.O.E. Oesterley, An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha (London: SPCK, 1935), p.56.

36. Undoubtedly Israel would have a leader in the final conflict, but the emphasis is always on the fact that they would be redeemed and restored by God alone; for a detailed discussion, cf. S. Mowinckel, He That Cometh (Oxford: Blackwell, 1956), pp.170-173.

that this future king would have an active part in redeeming Israel and establishing the kingdom that the title "Messiah" arose. Then the people began to look for "the" Messiah, the redeemer and deliverer of God's people. This hope is not found either in the Old Testament or in the Apocrypha. Too often a misunderstanding of this has led to false ideas concerning the Old Testament, and to incorrect translations. Our minds, influenced by the technical Messiah of the New Testament have invariably garbed the Hebrew מָשִׁיחַ with the eschatological trappings of Christianity. But מָשִׁיחַ in the Old Testament is never an eschatological term.

The earliest use of the word is with Jahweh, or with a pronominal suffix referring to Jahweh, as a title of the ruling king. So David in I Samuel 24:7 reports at having cut off the skirt of Saul's robe by saying, "The Lord forbid that I should do this thing to my lord, the anointed of Jahweh (מָשִׁיחַ יְהוָה)". Hannah prays in I Samuel 2:10, "The Lord will judge the ends of the earth, He will give strength to His king, and exalt the horn of His anointed (מָשִׁיחַ)".³⁷ So even the great so-called "Messianic" psalms---2, 45, 72, 110

37. Cf. I Sam. 2:35; 12:3,5; 16:6; 24:11; 26:9,11,16,23; II Sam. 1:14,16; 19:21; II Chron. 6:42; Psa. 18:51; 20:7; 84:10; 132:17; Lam. 4:20.

---are to be understood, as S.Mowinckel³⁸ and I.Engnell³⁹ have shown, not as referring to an eschatological figure, but to the contemporary king. At least as they stand in the Old Testament, and in the mind of the writer, they are not eschatological. This is not to deny the validity of the Messianic interpretation given by the author of Hobrews to such as Psalms 2. That is legitimate New Testament exegesis, just as Matthew saw the virgin birth of Jesus in the ambiguous prophecy of Isaiah 7:14. Isaiah clearly spoke his words to king Ahaz and to the contemporary situation, but this does not rule out the possibility of a double entendre. The point I am emphasizing is that in the Old Testament messiah never carried with it any direct eschatological significance to the people of the day. It did not convey any idea of a unique figure in the history of the Hebrew nation. Even during the time when Israel was without a king or kingdom, and the Hebrew looked for the restoration of past glories, the ideal king of the future is never called messiah. He is always the "root" or the "branch" or the "prince". He would of course be "anointed", but this is never expressly stated. Therefore a distinction

38. S.Mowinckel, Psalmstudien II. Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie (Kristiania: Dypwad, 1922), pp.297-311; III. Kultprophetie und Prophetische Psalmen (1923), pp.80-101.

39. I.Engnell, Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East (Uppsala: Almqvist, 1943), pp.43ff.

must be kept between "Messiah" and "anointed". The word "Messiah" carries certain connotations not found in the Old Testament, as we shall see in a moment.

There are various other uses of מָשִׁיחַ in the Old Testament. The priests during the period of the first Temple were all anointed with oil.⁴⁰ The people of God were sometimes called the Lord's "anointed". Habakkuk 3:13 reads, "Thou wentest forth for the salvation of Thy people, for the salvation of Thy anointed". God, in Isaiah 45:1, calls Cyrus His "anointed". The patriarchs are referred to as מְשִׁיחַיִם in Psalms 105:15.⁴¹ Even the reference to Onias III in Daniel 9:25,26 is to be translated "an anointed one", and not "Messiah" (as in the KJV), for it clearly points to the high priest, and not to the eschatological king.

The technical use of מָשִׁיחַ does not occur in the Old Testament. It needed the impetus of a later age. The Old Testament man viewed the future restoration as the work of God alone, and this idea continued into the extra-canonical literature. But side by side with this another concept sprang up and almost submerged the older point of view. When the despotic governments of Antiochus Epiphanes and Herod the

40. Cf. Lev. 4:3,5,16; 6:15; Test. Levi 8:4.

41. Cf. Midr. Tehil., ad loc., 'אל תגזון משיחי אמר ר' אל תגזון משיחי אמר ר' (p.450, Buber).

Great increased the miserable condition of the Jews, most of the people began to seek refuge in a personal deliverer. They longed for the one who would redeem them from their enemies. This was an innovation---a redeemer other than God. Israel at this time was without a king, and so they began to center their hopes on the rising of that one who would lead them to their proper place in the world. Most of the people looked for a Davidic scion in this warring role, though others, such as I Enoch (Parables) and the Sibylline Oracles saw him as an heavenly figure, while the Testament of Levi conceived of a priestly leader. But the important thing to remember is that this deliverer was not God, though undoubtedly God-empowered. This was quite a change for the Jew to make.

In the beginning he was known in the fashion of the Old Testament king. The Psalms of Solomon speak of this figure as "the anointed of Jahweh" (17:36; cf. 18:8) and "His (God's) anointed" (18:6). I Enoch also calls him "His (God's) anointed" (48:10; 52:4), though these are sometimes taken as later interpolations.⁴² In II Baruch he is known as "My (God's) anointed" (39:7; 40:1). The difference between the ancient king and this new lies in the fact that statements which the Old Testament applies only to God as the redeemer of Israel

42. Cf. G. Dalman, The Words of Jesus (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902), p. 269.

are now transferred to this eschatological figure. "(The anointed of Jahweh) shall destroy the ungodly nations with the word of his mouth; at his rebuke the nations shall flee before him . . . and he shall gather together a holy people, whom he shall lead in righteousness" (Psa. Sol., 17:27,28).

As this concept grew and gained favor among the common people, and as the yoke of servitude became more galling, the passionate expectation and cry was for the soon coming of "God's anointed" who would rescue them from their plight. But since the Tetragrammaton was not pronounced, and as there was a reluctance to mention "God", His name was omitted, and thus the people looked for "the anointed one" par excellence, the "Messiah", מָשִׁיחַ, the deliverer of Israel.⁴³

The first occurrence of this usago (with the article and not in apposition to another word) is in IV Ezra.⁴⁴ The angel says to Ezra in 12:32,33, "this is the Messiah whom the Most High hath kept for the consummation of the days, who shall spring from the seed of David . . . he shall reprove (the wicked of) their ungodliness, and for their baseness admonish them . . . and it shall be when he rebuketh them then

43. The explanation of the omission of God's name is Dalman's, op. cit., p.291.

44. Dated in its final redaction by G.H.Box ("IV Ezra", The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English (R.H.Charles, editor), p.553) as 120 A.D. The technical use of מָשִׁיחַ occurs earlier in the Qumran Scrolls, but I will reserve discussion of this until chapter IX.

he shall destroy them".⁴⁵

The technical use of משיח was in common parlance before this, as we know from the New Testament. Andrew, having seen Jesus, says to his brother Simon, "We have found the Messiah" (τὸν Μεσσία; John 1:41). Indeed it has become a proper name in John 4:25, "I know that Messiah is coming".⁴⁶

In the older Targumim it is always the definite משיח that occurs. So Isaiah 42:1 reads, "Behold My servant whom I uphold, My chosen one in whom My soul delights", while the Targum interprets, "Behold My servant, the Messiah (משיח), I will draw him near, My chosen in whom My word delights; I

45. J.Klausner, op. cit., p.8, says that the first occurrence of "Messiah" to designate the expected redeemer is in the book of I Enoch, but this is only true in so far as the figure there who is called "His anointed" redeems Israel. The technical term משיח is first found in IV Ezra.

46. G.Dalman, op. cit., pp.292,293, points out that this is the usual practice in the Babylonian Talmud; cf. bSukk. 52a, דוד בן משיח, "Messiah son of David"; bSanh. 98b, שני משיח, "the years of Messiah"; etc. He suggests that this custom is incapable of being verified in regard to Palestine where it is always the definite משיח, and therefore cannot have influenced Christian phraseology. However the usage in John 4 would argue for the currency of this custom in Palestine. L.Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1936-47), VI, p.340, note 112, mentions the fact that the prevalent opinion in the old Rabbinic writings is that "the Messiah will not be anointed at all". Although Ginzberg doesn't mention his source, this certainly shows that "Messiah" was a proper name. If it isn't then there is a contradiction in terms, for "an anointed one" may not be "an anointed one" only when he is a "Messiah" and the word has lost its basic meaning.

will put My Holy Spirit upon him, and he shall reveal My judgment to the nations".⁴⁷

Occasionally during this period the title "Messiah" was applied to the Old Testament ideal leader, the king of the new age, who would have nothing to do with establishing the kingdom.⁴⁸ But these occurrences are rare and are best explained as an adaptation from earlier usage. The popular view was that the Messiah would lead Israel to victory over her enemies and set up his throne in Jerusalem. This is what gave rise to the term. To those who did not share this concept, and who clung to the Old Testament teaching, it was natural to adopt the common title themselves, forgetting or neglecting the original significance of the word. The term "Messiah" came into being when the people began to look for that leader whose advent would be the signal for the end. To the man with the Old Testament viewpoint such was not the case. The "Messiah" would arrive after Israel's enemies were subjected and the kingdom ready for him. This person waited for God, not man.

In summary I have suggested that the title "Messiah" is to be reserved for the eschatological warrior, the redeemer

47. Cf. Targ. Onk. Gen. 49:10; Num. 24:17; Targ. I Sam. 2:10; II Sam. 23:3; Isa. 10:27; 11:1,6; 14:29; Jer. 33:13.

48. Cf. II Bar. 29:3; 30:1; perhaps IV Ezra 7:28.

of Israel. He combined in his personage the two-fold office of military leader and moral ruler. To some Jews he would be a priest (Test. Levi), to others a lay figure, a Davidic seion (Psa. Sol.), and to others a supernatural being (Sib. Ora.), but in every case the "Messiah" was a warrior and a king. The high priest could never be called the "Messiah" unless, as in the Testament of Levi, he would fulfil the expected office of this figure. Jewish literature, as far as I have been able to determine, knows of no exceptions.⁴⁹

Occasionally there is a concept of two Messiahs (the ben Ephraim-ben David Messiahs), but in such a case the dual Messianic office is clearly divided between them---one is the warrior and the other is the king. So Pes. R. 8:27, commenting on the olive branch vision in Zechariah 4:11, says, "There are two Messiahs, the one is the one anointed for war, and the other the one anointed to be king over Israel".⁵⁰ The identification of מלחמה with מלחמה (cf. bSukk. 52b) is made in Num. R. 14, "'Ephraim also is the defense of my head' refers to the Messiah anointed for war who will come

49. Some scholars disagree with this, especially in reference to the Scrolls. I will discuss this more thoroughly in chapter IX.

50. אילו שני המשיחים אחד משוח מלחמה ואחד משוח למלך ישראל; cf. also Pes. R. 15:72; 37:3,12 (ed. Friedmann). S. Zeitlin, "The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Travesty on Scholarship", JQR XLVII, 1956-1957, p.6, claims that this phrase in Pes. R. 8:27 (8:30 in his edition) is the basis of the Messianic expression in CD and 1QS.

from Ephraim".⁵¹

M.-J. Lagrange, in arguing against G. Dalman's translation of מלך משיח as "the anointed king" instead of the popular "King Messiah",⁵² says, "Quand nous traduisons 'le Roi Messie', cela veut dire 'le roi qui sera le Messie', et c'est bien ce qu'on voulait marquer".⁵³ Although one must admit that Dalman's translation is strictly correct, yet there are in Lagrange's words the elements which make up the overall definition of "Messiah"---he would be a king; he would be the (only) Messiah. Perhaps a more complete definition should be phrased: "le Messie sera le guerrier-roi". It is this popular viewpoint which the New Testament disciples had, and that is why the uniquely contrary Messianic claim of Jesus was so baffling to them. How could the king die before he had ascended the throne?

4. Messianism. It is important to distinguish between the terms "Messianism" and "Messiah". The former word is used by many writers as synonymous with "eschatology", and

51. משיח מלחמה שבא מאפרים; cf. Agad. Shir ha-Shirim 4:11 (JQR VII, 1894, p.153). For further discussion of this, cf. infra, p.291.

52. Cf. Targ. Psa. 45:3.

53. M.-J. Lagrange, Le messianisme chez les juifs (Paris: Gabalda, 1909), pp.214,215, note 4.

speaks therefore both of the last days and of the new age. Thus any person involved in the eschaton is a "Messianic" figure, or any thing a "Messianic" element. The second Moses, Elijah, the eschatological battle, natural upheavals are all subsumed under the name of "Messianic". The term is even used, especially in reference to the Old Testament eschatological hope, where strictly speaking there is no Messiah in the proper sense of the word. Although perhaps the title should be kept solely for those writings which speak of a Messiah, it is the more general usage that has been followed in this study.

Sometimes the terms "Messianism" and "Messiah" are applied to Old Testament passages which speak of an anointed contemporary king, but this is incorrect usage. The title "Messiah" arose in later Judaism as the designation of an eschatological figure, and so "Messianism" by its very nature refers to the period of the "Messiah".⁵⁴

A word of caution. The study of the Qumran Scrolls has only just begun. Though probably the most important theological texts are available at present, much of the material

54. Perhaps also "extra-canonical literature" and "Rabbinic literature" should be defined. The former term I use to describe all the works included in the two volumes of The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English (R.H. Charles, editor), while the latter refers to that vast body of Jewish literature represented chiefly by the Targumim, Mishnah, Talmud, and Midrashim.

from the cave finds has not yet been published. Even the scrolls and fragments that we do have are not complete. Who knows what was taught in those tantalizing lacunae and in those missing columns? This examination of the Messianism and eschatology of the Qumran texts does not claim absolute finality.

CHAPTER II

THE TEACHER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

The life and death of the Teacher of Righteousness became the turning point in the Messianic expectations of the Qumran sect. It was his life, what he taught and did, that brought meaning and solidarity to a confused and bewildered group of pious Jews. He was the founder of the sect. It was his death at the hands of the unrighteous that had brought the Messianic woes upon Israel. The sect calculated the time of the eschaton from the moment of that evil deed. Such a figure demands close attention.

There have been many attempts at an historical identification of the Teacher.¹ It will not be the purpose here to add another such historical suggestion, but rather to determine his relation to the sect and to its eschatology. The question I wish to answer is, What was the Teacher of Righteousness, or rather, How is he depicted in the Scrolls? Two things are assumed---(1) the Teacher of Righteousness was a single person (there were not several people who bore

1. Cf. H.H.Rowley, The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls, pp.42ff.; M.Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, pp.143ff.

that title).² The references in the Scrolls are clearly to a single, unique individual around whom the life of the sect revolved. The history of his life, though veiled in symbolism, is without doubt the record of an actual person. (2) The Teacher was killed at the hands of the wicked priest. A. Dupont-Sommer, I believe, has settled this question conclusively.³

What was the Teacher of Righteousness? He was in a real sense priest, prophet, and king for the Qumran sect.⁴

2. P. R. Weis, "The Date of the Habakkuk Scroll", JQR XLI, 1950-1951, p. 137, note 37, lists the "bud" (CD 1:7), the "Moreh Zedek" of early times (1:11), the "Moreh Zedek" of the end of days (6:11), and the מורה יחיד (20:1, 14). But the first is the sect itself, the second and the fourth are the same, as we shall see, and the third refers to Elijah as יורה הזק , "he who teaches righteousness" (cf. infra, pp. 60-63).

3. A. Dupont-Sommer, "Le Maître de Justice fut-il mis à mort?", VT I, 1951, pp. 200-215; cf. infra, appendix D, pp. 64-71.

4. Cf. Philo, Vita Mosis, 3:23, 39. This, of course, reminds one of Jesus. For parallels and differences between the Scrolls and the New Testament, cf. O. Cullmann, "The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research into the Beginnings of Christianity", JBL LXXIV, 1955, pp. 213-226; W. Grosouw, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament", SC XXVI, 1951, pp. 289-299; XXVII, 1952, pp. 1-8; K. G. Kuhn, "Die in Palästina gefundenen hebräischen Texte und das Neue Testament", ZTK XLVII, 1950, pp. 193ff.; XLIX, 1952, pp. 200-222; "Über den ursprünglichen Sinn des Abendmahls und sein Verhältnis zu den Gemeinschaftsmahlen der Sektenschrift", Eth XII, 1951, pp. 508-527; J. L. Teicher, "The Teaching of the Pre-Pauline Church in the Dead Sea Scrolls", JJS III, 1952, pp. 111-118; IV, 1953, pp. 1-13; 93-103; 139-153; etc.; H. H. Rowley, op. cit., pp. 57, 58.

I. Priest

. . . from the mouth of the priest whom God placed in the house of Judah to explain all the words of His servants the prophets. (1QpHab 2:7-9)⁵

Although the Teacher of Righteousness is not spoken of by name in this passage, 1QpHab 7:4,5 makes it certain that he is in view.

Its interpretation concerns the Teacher of Righteousness whom God made to know all the mysteries of the words of His servants the prophets.

The "priest" and the "Teacher of Righteousness" both know the mysteries of the prophets, and should therefore be identified. The very title מורה ונביא reflects the age-old prerogative of the priestly class (the כהן מורה) to be the sole legal and judicial authority in Israel. The blessing of Moses upon Levi's seed is that "they shall teach (יורו) Jacob Thy ordinances, and Israel Thy Law" (Deut. 33:10). II Chronicles 35:3 refers to the high priest as כהן מורה, and Ezekiel 44:23 states that the sons of Zadok are to "teach" the difference between the holy and

5. בן בית יהודה; following the reconstruction of A. Dupont-Sommer, "Le 'Commentaire d'Habacuc' découvert près de la Mer Morte. Traduction et notes", RHR CXXXVII, 1950, p.132. W.H. Brownlee, BASOR 112, 1948, p.10, renders " . . . from the mouth of the priest whom He has given unto the Children of Israel for a teacher to give the meaning of all the words of His servants the prophets". I. Rabinowitz, "The Second and Third Columns of the Habakkuk Interpretation Scroll", JBL LXIX, 1950, p.34, translates, "the priest in whose heart God has set wisdom to interpret all the words of His servants the prophets".

the common. The fact that the Teacher of Righteousness was the head of a group where the priest held the leadership of each division also points to his priestly lineage (cf. 1QS 6:2ff.). This is further assured by a fragment of a commentary on Psalms 37.⁶ It reads, "Its interpretation concerns the priest, the Teacher of [Righteousness] . . . has established him to build for Him the congregation of [His elect]" (2:15,16).

II. Prophet

God considered their works, for with a perfect heart did they seek Him; and He raised for them Moreh Zedek (or, Teacher of Righteousness) to lead them in the way of His heart and to make known to the last generations that which He would do to the last generation, the congregation of the faithless. (CD 1:10-12)

God called the Teacher of Righteousness to be the prophet of His will. One is reminded of Amos 3:7, "Surely the Lord God does nothing without revealing His secret to His servants the prophets" (cf. CD 2:11-13). But there is a further aspect of his position as prophet that is vital to the understanding of the eschatological hopes of the sect. He was a prophet in a special sense. The Teacher of Righteousness was considered by the men of Qumran to be the

6. Cf. J.M. Allegro, "A Newly-Discovered Fragment of a Commentary on Psalm XXXVII from Qumran", PEQ 1954, pp. 71,72.

second Moses promised in Deuteronomy 18:15. This interpretation is determined not only by the fact that the whole atmosphere and teaching of the sect is based on its belief that Israel's great deliverance from Egypt, wanderings in the desert, and entrance into the promised land were the prototypes of its own history and final deliverance,⁷ but also because the various designations of the Teacher found in CD are paralleled elsewhere by descriptions of Moses.

The main features of Israel's post-Egypt days were being re-enacted in the life of the community. This is the implication of the following passages:

The well is the Law, and those that dug it are they that withdrew from Israel, and went out from the land of Judah, and dwelt in the land of Damascus. (CD 6:4,5; cf. 7:14,15; 20:22)

And this is the order of the meeting of [the] c[amps]. They that walk in these during the epoch of wickedness until the arising of the Messiah of Aaron and Israel (shall be) groups of ten men as the minimum, by thousands and hundreds and fifties and tens. (CD 13:1; cf. 1QS 2:21)

For in ancient times Moses and Aaron arose by the hand of the prince of lights . . . and in the epoch of the desolation of the land the removers of the boundary arose and they led Israel astray. And the land became

7. Cf. J. Jeremias, "Μωϋσῆς", TWzNT, IV, p. 865. J. Guillet, "Thème de la marche au désert dans l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament", RSR XXXVI, 1949, pp. 165ff., discusses this belief as reflected in the prophets. He notes, "l'exil habituel Israël à voir, dans le retour qui lui promettant ses prophètes, la répétition de l'Exode jusque dans les détails extérieurs" (p. 165).

desolate for they spoke rebellion against the commandments of God (given) by the hand of Moses and also by the holy anointed ones, and prophesied falsehood so as to cause Israel to turn away from following God. But God remembered the covenant of the forefathers and He raised from Aaron men of understanding and from Israel wise men. (CD 5:17ff.)

Its interpretation concerns the men of the truth, the doers of the Law, who did not relax their hands from the doing of the truth in the lengthening upon them of the last epoch, for all God's times will come at their appointed times (1QpHab 7:10-14)

The history of the sect was considered to be a repetition of the days of Moses.⁸ The second Exodus had taken place, they were living in the wilderness, they were mustered in camps (cf. Ex. 30:13ff.) by thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens (cf. Ex. 18:25), days similar to those of Moses and Aaron were upon them, therefore the visitation of God and the Messianic kingdom were just around the corner. The group was continuing the precedent set by Moses, at the suggestion of his father-in-law Jethro, to appoint able men from the people to help out in the administrative work, to be the "rulers of thousands, of hundreds, of fifties, and of tens" (Ex. 18:13ff.). This was standard procedure in Israel (cf. Deut. 31:9), but the practice dropped out during the years of the Monarchy and the Captivity. Here, then, was a group

8. Cf. mBer. 1:5, "this includes (the duty of remembering the Exodus from Egypt) in the days of the Messiah".

withdrawn from the wicked, wandering in the desert, patterning their life after the days of the Exodus, expecting that they would soon enter the promised land. Something important must have happened to give them this idea. The only explanation is that they must have felt that the long-awaited Messianic forerunner had arrived---the second Moses, the Teacher of Righteousness.

The belief that the reappearance of Moses was to herald the Messianic age is reflected in various sources.⁹ Certainly the most obvious is Deuteronomy 18:15-18 where God promises to raise up a "prophet like (Moses)". That this hope was current in the time of the Scrolls is seen from Acts 7:37, "This is the Moses who said to the Israelites, God will raise up for you a prophet from your brethren, as he raised me up" (cf. 3:22). The Targ. Yeru. Ex. 12:42 describes a "book of memorial" in which are recorded "four nights" when great events take place. The first is the creation of the world, the second is the night when God appeared unto Abraham at the covenant of the pieces, the third is the Passover night, and the fourth is that on which the end of the world's

9. Cf. N. Wieder, "The 'Law-Interpreter' of the Sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Moses", JJS IV, 1953, pp.158-175; J. Jeremias, "ἡλ(ε)ίας", TWzNT, II, pp.941ff.; D. Bousset, Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter (Berlin: von Reuther & Reichard, 1903), pp. 220, 221,

redemption will be accomplished. On this last night it is said that "Moses will come from the desert, and the Messiah (literally, "the anointed king", מלכא משיחא) from Rome".¹⁰ Ex.R. 2:4 relates another Rabbinic tradition which claims that Moses' desert activity would not be limited to the original Exodus, but would also be true in future days when he would appear in the desert again to lead into the promised land the resurrected generation that he brought forth from Egyptian bondage.¹¹

This interpretation of the sect's history is made certain when we realize that the Teacher of Righteousness is designated by terminology which reflects a Mosaic tradition.

A. Teacher of Righteousness. This occurs as מררר צדק (CD 1:11; 20:32), מררר הצדק (1QpHab 1:13; 5:10; 7:4; 8:3; 9:10; 11:5), and מררר הצדק (1QpHab 2:2).¹² The fact that

10. Cf. bSukk. 52b where Moses will be one of the seven shepherds who will be leaders of Israel with the Messiah; also L.Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, II, pp.372,373; III, pp.312,315.

11. Ex.R. 2:4 says, "R. Levi said, 'God told Moses, Let this be a sign to you. In the wilderness you will leave them, and from the wilderness you will bring them back in the future (למחר), as it is said, Therefore behold I will allure her, and bring her into the wilderness' (Hosea 2:16)"; cf. also note 13 for other references to Moses' Messianic activity.

12. A.M.Honeyman, "Notes on a Teacher and a Book", JJS IV, 1953, p.131, claims that the term צדק refers not to the moral content of the teacher's instruction, but to the legitimacy of his status and the authenticity of his leadership, (cont.)

the Teacher of Righteousness was a single individual is emphasized by the use of his title in CD 1:11 and 20:32 as a proper name. The instruction in CD 20:32 is that the righteous will be saved when they obey the Torah interpretations of "Teacher", that is, when they "give ear to the voice of מורה צדק" (without the definite article). It is not any teacher that they must obey, but rather Teacher, the one whom God sent to explain His will (1:11), who brought new laws and interpretations (20:32). So the phrase should not be translated in CD 1:11 and 20:32 as "a teacher of righteousness", but rather as "Moroh Zedek", just as "Messiah" becomes a proper name in the Babylonian Talmud and in the

and so renders "True Teacher". Perhaps there would also then be the inference in the term that he taught them the "true" or "correct" future expectations; cf. H.J. Schoeps, "Das Gnostische Judentum in den Dead Sea Scrolls", ZRG VI, 1954, p.4, who sees a comparison with the Ebionite phrase ὁ προφήτης τῆς ἀληθείας; also J.T. Milik, "Fragments d'un midrash de Michée dans les manuscrits de Qumran", RB LIX, 1952, p.416, who reads "le Maître légitime". The term is somewhat ambiguous, and actually can be read either way, however it is opposed to מורה צדק in 1QpHab, and this would seem to make the reading "Teacher of Righteousness" preferable. In that case מורה, a Hiph'il participle from ירה, would be parallel in sense to Isa. 9:14 and Hab. 2:18---מורה צדק (cf. M. Delcor, "Où en est le problème du Midrash d'Habacuc?", RHR CXLII, 1952, p.142). The title "Teacher of Righteousness" was probably inspired by Joel 2:23 where it is said that Jahweh will send Israel המורה לצדקה, "the autumn rain for righteousness", and also ושם, "abundant rain". In 1QH 8:16 the author says that God has sent him as יורה ושמ. L. Ginzberg, Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte, I, p.221, note 2, points out that מורה צדק compares with מורה הלכה in Rabbinic literature.

New Testament (cf. supra, p.32, note 46).

The Mosaic identification here is perhaps not definite, for Moses was never called "Teacher of Righteousness". Yet it is clear that this was one of his primary roles. He was the instructor of God's Torah to Israel (Deut. 1, 3-12, 27-31). The Mosaic Law is in its essence teaching in righteousness. Furthermore Moses is given the identical title of "teacher" in CD 3:8, where it says that the people rebelled against God at Kadesh and would not listen to the commandments of "their teacher" (מוריהו). This is clearly a reference to Moses. Elsewhere in Rabbinic literature we find that in Messianic days Moses would play the role of a teacher. For example, bNidd. 70b, in discussing the regulations regarding the uncleanness of a corpse, concludes that the matter must remain undecided until "Moses our master (or, teacher; מורנו) shall come".¹³

B. Lawgiver.

God remembered the covenant of the forefathers and He raised from Aaron men of understanding and from Israel wise men. And He caused them to hear,

13. Cf. Targ.Jon.Ex. 40:11, משה רבינו גם למד תורה; bBer. 3b; bSot. 12b; Targ.Onk.Deut. 33:21; Ex.R. 2:6; Ass.Moses 11:16; Da.Zok.Mibb.ha-Toseph. to Num. 21:18 ("In the Targumim Moses is the great teacher, ספרא רבא"). Cf. L.Ginzberg's unfounded statement (Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte, I, p.304, note 1) that in bNidd. 70b משה לכשיבוא is "perhaps" to be read as אליהו לכשיבוא; for the place of Elijah in the Scrolls, cf. infra, pp.58-63.

and they dug a well, the well which the princes dug, (which) the nobles of the people delved with the Lawgiver. The well is the Law, and those that dug it are they that withdrew from Israel . . . and the Lawgiver is the Searcher of the Law, as Isaiah said, Who brings forth a vessel for His work. And the nobles of the people are they that have come to dig the well with the ordinances which the Lawgiver ordained to walk in them during the whole epoch of wickedness. (CD 6:2-10)

The second title by which the Teacher of Righteousness was known is "Lawgiver" (פּוֹלֵל).¹⁴ In CD 5:17-6:10 the context

14. There are three ways to translate this term--- "Lawgiver", "Staff", or "Commander". Ch. Rabin, The Zadokite Documents, p.22, translates as "Staff", because of the quotation from Num. 21:18, adding (note 7.2) that the meanings of "Commander" and "Lawgiver" are excluded by the Isa. 54:16 quotation, "who brings forth a vessel for His work". He states further that "Lawgiver" is not attested for פּוֹלֵל before the 14th century A.D. However I have translated as "Lawgiver" because this obviously is the emphasis of the passage. The context speaks of "ordinances" (חֻקִּים) which the פּוֹלֵל ordained (פָּלַח). Whichever way one translates the emphasis must always be on the law-authority of the person. The root פּלַח has the idea of "inscribe, engrave", and so "inscribe a law (on a tablet), or figuratively "enact or decree a law". The use of פּוֹלֵל in the Old Testament as "commander" is only a meaning derived from the fact that one who decrees laws has authority. So C.A. Briggs (in BDB, p. 349) defines the Po'el פּוֹלֵל as "prescriber of laws, hence (as sovereign authority in a warlike clan) commander Dt 33:21 (of warlike tribe of Gad), Ju 5:14 Is 33:22". Furthermore it is not "staff", but in reality "ruler's staff", the symbol of one who is the leader by virtue of his execution or prescription of laws. Also the attestation in the 14th century as "Lawgiver" does not exclude the possibility that now we have a 1st century example, especially since the primary emphasis of this passage is on the explanation of the Torah. M.-J. Lagrange, "La secte juive de la nouvelle alliance au pays de Damas", RB IX (XXI), 1912, p.222, translates as "Chef"; I. Lévi, "Un écrit sadducéen antérieur à la destruction du Temple", REJ LXI, 1911, p.183, transliterates "Mehokek"; so also J. Schousboe, La secte juive de l'Alliance Nouvelle au pays de Damas et le Christianisme naissant, pp.47,48 (literally he has "Mehoqueq").

concerns the story of certain events during Israel's early days when "Jannes and his brother" were raised up by Belial in opposition to the rule of Moses and Aaron. So, the writer claims, now in these times there is a similar situation. There is again the opposition to the laws of God. The "boundary" of the Law has been removed, and Israel has gone astray. The commandments of Moses and the prophets have been disregarded. God has raised a second Moses, another Lawgiver, who has instructed the people in the proper understanding of the Law, but his teaching also has been turned aside. The author is drawing a parallel between the old days and the present ones. Then it was "Jannes and his brother"; now as we discover from 1QpHab it is the "wicked priest". Then it was "Moses and Aaron"; now it is the second Moses, the "Lawgiver".

The identification of the ppm with the Teacher of Righteousness is assured by the parallel histories related in CD 6:2-10 and 1:4-12.

- (a) God remembered the covenant of the forefathers (1:4; 6:2).
- (b) He raised a sect from Aaron and Israel (1:7; 6:2,3).
- (c) He raised a leader to instruct them in His ways (1:11; 6:7-10).
- (d) In one place this figure is called the "Teacher of Righteousness" (1:11), and in the other the "Lawgiver" (6:4).

The role of the Teacher of Righteousness was as a supreme leader whose interpretations were to be binding on the sect during the final days (cf. CD 20:28ff.; 1QpHab 2:7-9). This is also the role of the ppnm in 6:8-11--- "the ordinances which the Lawgiver ordained to walk in them during the whole epoch of wickedness".

The term ppnm is also applied to Moses by Rabbinic tradition. Rashi, commenting on ppnm in Numbers 21:18 (the passage which CD 6:2-10 is interpreting!) says, "By interpretation 'Moses', who is called ppnm, as was said (Deut. 33:21), 'For there the portion of a ppnm was reserved'". So also Da.Zek.Mibb.ha-Toseph. (on the same passage) says, "There are those who say that ppnm is Moses, like that which says, 'For there the portion of a ppnm was reserved'.¹⁵

Although Moses is never known as ppnm in the Old Testament, it is obvious that he was a "giver of the Law" (Ex. 19:25; 20-23; 34:10; 35:1; Lev. 1; Num. 5; 6; 15; 27-30; 36; Deut. 12-26).¹⁶

15. Cf. Targ.Onk., Jon., Rashi Deut. 33:21; N.Wieder, loc. cit.; L.Ginzberg, op. cit., III, p.339; Philo, Vita Mosis 3:23,39, describes Moses as "king and lawgiver (νομοθέτης) and high priest and prophet".

16. The Samaritans held to a belief in a second Moses-Messiah, like the one the Samaritan woman had in mind (John 4), who would be the revealer of hidden or lost truths.
(cont.)

In this same regard notice the similarity between
CD 20:27-34 and Deuteronomy 18:18,19.

But all they that hold fast to these rules . . .
 and who learn from the former judgments by which
 the men of the unique one have been judged, and who
 give ear to the voice of Moreh Zedek, and do not
 reject the righteous ordinances when they hear them,
 they shall rejoice and be glad, and their hearts
 shall be strong, and they shall overcome all the
 sons of the world, and God shall forgive them, and
 they shall witness His salvation for they have taken
 refuge in His holy name. (CD 20:27-34)

I will raise up for them a prophet like you
 from among their brethren; and I will put My words
 in his mouth, and he shall speak to them all that
 I command him. And whoever will not give heed to
 My words which he shall speak in My name, I Myself
 will require it of him. (Deut. 18:18,19)

In the former passage blessing is promised to those who
 have given ear to the voice or commandments of the Teacher
 of Righteousness. They shall inherit God's salvation. In
 the latter passage God warns the people about listening to
 the voice and commandments of the second Moses. Those who

However since there could be no greater prophet than Moses,
 nor even one equal to him, the Messiah would be an inferior
 personage. He was called Ta'eb, the "restorer" of original
 prosperity and divine favor (cf. J.A. Montgomery, The Samari-
 tans, The Earliest Jewish Sect, their History, Theology, and
 Literature (Philadelphia: Winston, 1907), pp.240-249; A.Cow-
 ley, "The Samaritan Doctrine of the Messiah", Expositor I
 (5th Series), 1895, pp.161-174). In other words, to the
 Samaritans he was the "prophet" as well as the "Messiah".
 This of course was not the hope of the Qumran sect, for they
 expected the "prophet" and the Messiah (1QS 9:11). I will
 discuss this more thoroughly in chapter IX.

do not, who reject his words, will be punished. The implication is that those who do give heed to the prophet's words will witness God's salvation.

The parallel histories and the parallel names make it certain that the Teacher of Righteousness-77177 was considered to be the expected prophet "like unto me" of Deuteronomy 18.

C. Searcher of the Law.

The well is the Law, and those that dug it are they that withdrew from Israel . . . and the Lawgiver is the Searcher of the Law. (CD 6:4-7)

The 77177, the Teacher of Righteousness, is also called "Searcher of the Law" (77177 7717). The Teacher not only was called this, but quite literally this is what he did. As we saw, 1QpHab says that God placed the Teacher of Righteousness in the sect "to explain all the words of His servants the prophets" (2:8,9). CD, as P.R.Weis points out,¹⁷ emphasizes the claim of the sect to new interpretations of the Law by such phrases as "in accordance with the interpretation of the Law" (4:8), "to keep the Sabbath according to its interpretation" (6:18), and "should they not observe to act in accordance with the interpretation of the Law" (6:14).

17. P.R.Weis, op. cit., p.139.

In Jewish tradition Moses is given the same role, that is, he is shown as an "expounder" or "searcher" of the Torah. Targ. Jon. Ex. 40:11 says, "Moses our master also taught the Torah, which is like water, and thus the face of the Torah was expounded (מ'ו'ר'ר) for all their benefit, and what he expounded (ו'ר'ר) concerning the Messiah was spoken in heaven".¹⁸

D. Vessel.

The Lawgiver is the Searcher of the Law, as Isaiah said, Who brings forth a vessel for His work. (CD 6:7,8)

In this passage the claim is made that Isaiah 54:16, "who brings forth a vessel (כ'ל) for His work" is a prophetic reference to the rise of the משיח. This belief is in accord with Jewish tradition where כ'ל is used as a figurative reference to Moses as a "vessel" of the revelations of God. Jethro says to Moses, "If you give ear now to my voice, you will fare well, if God approves of my plan, which

¹⁸. Cf. L. Ginzberg, Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte, I, p.313 (note 4), 315; The Legends of the Jews, III, p.67. I. Rabinowitz, "A Reconsideration of 'Damascus' and '390 Years' in the 'Damascus' ('Zadokite') Fragments", JBL LXXIII, 1954, p.21, believes that the "Searcher of the Law" was not the Teacher of Righteousness, but an exegote, a scribe, who by his skill in collocating texts was given this important place. But as we have seen the identity of the Lawgiver-Teacher of Righteousness-Searcher of the Law is quite certain.

is, that you shall be the vessel of the revelations of God, and shall place the revelations of God before the people, as often as you receive them, so that they may understand the exposition of the Torah, as well as its decision".¹⁹

E. Unique Teacher.

From the day that the Unique Teacher was gathered in until the being consumed of all the men of war who returned with the man of untruth is about forty years. (CD 20:14,15; cf. 19:35-20:1)

The "Unique Teacher"²⁰ is undoubtedly the Teacher of Righteousness. This passage speaks of his death at the hands of the "man of untruth". We know that the Teacher of Righteousness was killed by this same "man", the wicked priest.²¹

19. So also, as N.Wieder, op. cit., p.161, points out, Eccle.R. 7:28 uses the parallel קִנְיָן of Moses. Cf. Mek.R. Simon, pp.89-90; Mek., Yitro 2, 59b-60a; L.Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, III, p.68; Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte, I, p.39; Mek.R. Ishmael, פֶּרֶשׁ בֵּרֶאשִׁית, p.1, line 4; Lev.G. 1:1. Wieder argues at some length (pp.161-165) for a further identification with the immediate context of Isaiah 54, "Behold I have created the craftsman (חָרָט) that blows the fire of coals". He sees in this a reference to bSukk. 52b and the vision of the four craftsmen (אַרְבַּע חָרָטִים)---Messiah ben David, Messiah ben Joseph, Elijah, and the righteous priest (Wieder reads, 'Melchizedek'). So he gets two Messiahs, and two forerunners. That may well be for bSukk. 52b, but the Isaianic context is not in CD, and certainly would have been if in the author's mind, so Wieder's argument is non sequitur.

20. מוֹרֵה הַיָּחִיד; perhaps it is to be read as מוֹרֵה הַיָּחִיד, "teacher of the community"; cf. Ch.Rabin, op. cit., p.37, note 1.1.

21. Cf. infra, appendix D, pp.69-71.

This identification is made certain by the fact that CD 20:32 puts "Moreh Zedek" and "unique one" in parallel.

There is no direct link here with Moses, except for the fact that the second Moses would also be unique in the history of the people of Israel. He would stand out as a singular figure on the Messianic scene. So quite possibly the sect deliberately chose the title "Unique"²² for the Teacher in order to emphasize his eschatological role as the second Moses.²³

These five titles, seen in the context of the sect's history and of the Teacher's unique place in the life of the community, make the Mosaic identification almost a certainty. However in this discussion of the prophetic office of the Teacher of Righteousness there remain two further

22. Cf. also A. Dupont-Sommer, RHR CXXCVII, 1950, p.153; J. Jeremias, "Ἡλ(ε)ίας", TWzNT, II, p.933; L. Ginzberg, Une unbekannte jüdische Sekte, I, p.316. K. Kohler, "Dositheus the Samaritan Heresiarch, and His Relations to Jewish and Christian Doctrines and Sects (A Study of Professor Schechter's Recent Publication)", AJT XV, 1911, p.412, writes, "whether the peculiar name ha Yahid was given him in view of his martyrdom with reference to Zechariah 12:10, 'the mourning for the only one', is difficult to say".

23. The publication of a fragment of Messianic testi-
monia from the Qumran area gives further proof that the sect expected the reappearance of Moses. Among other verses quoted, the fragment includes Deut. 5:25-29, 18:18ff., and 33:8-11, all Mosaic references; cf. J. T. Milik, "Une lettre de Siméon Bar Kokheba", RB LX, 1953, pp.290,291; J. M. Allegro, in "Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumrân", RB LXIII, 1956, p.63.

problems---the identification of (1) the "prophet" of 1QS 9:11, and (2) the 7737 7777 of CD 6:11.

(1) Most commentators have equated the "prophet" with the Teacher of Righteousness, however I believe that the two are not the same. Part of the reason for this understanding lies in the apparent fact that 1QS was written after the Teacher of Righteousness was killed, and therefore since the document still looks for a prophet, the two are not the same. I will reserve full discussion of the order of the documents until appendix D, but suffice it to notice here certain facts. (a) CD speaks of establishing a "new covenant" in the land of Damascus. We know that the Teacher led the group to this "land", and as their leader established this covenant. But in 1QS 1-3 we read of the annual "renewal" of that new covenant. In other words 1QS relates the regulations that have developed out of the original event in Damascus. (b) 1QS 8:13-16 speaks of going into the desert to prepare God's way. Yet in CD, when the sect did go into the desert, there is no mention that this was the purpose. If 1QS had been written before CD then certainly the flight to the desert would have been interpreted in that light. (c) 1QS depicts an intricate organization with rules that show a considerable development of tradition.²⁴ This would be strange if 1QS

24. Cf. M. Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 229.

were written before the arrival of the Teacher of Righteousness who founded the sect, who laid the basis of its organization in his Torah interpretations, and who undoubtedly gave them their unique Messianic expression.

Further evidence for this, I believe, is found in the two documents themselves. CD 20:27,28 says, "But all they that hold fast to these rules, inasmuch as they go out and go in according to the Law, and listen to the voice of the Teacher . . .", while 20:31,32 reads, "who learn from the former judgments by which the men of the unique one have been judged, and who give ear to the voice of Moreh Zedek" The first passage appears to put "Law" and "voice of the Teacher" in parallel. "Teacher" therefore refers to Moses, as he is already called in CD 3:8, and the emphasis is on obedience to the Law. The second passage underlines the place of the Teacher of Righteousness, that is, "Moreh Zedek". It implies that the "former judgments", the original regulations of the sect, the interpretations of the Torah, were instituted by the Teacher of Righteousness, and that these are to remain in operation until the end time. However in 1QS 9:9-11 we find a different emphasis. It reads, "they shall not depart from the whole counsel of the Torah to walk in all their hardness of heart, but they shall be ruled by the first laws with which the men of the community began to

be disciplined until the coming of a prophet and the anointed ones of Aaron and Israel". There has been a change. The author speaks of two periods in the history of the sect--- first that of the present time during which the "first laws", by which the community began to be ruled, were to remain in operation, and second that of the future time at the coming of a prophet and the anointed ones of Aaron and Israel. The expression "first laws" implies that there will be second or "new laws" inaugurated at the coming of the prophet. The phrase "first laws" does not refer to the Torah alone, the Mosaic law, for the passage speaks of the whole counsel of the Torah by which the "men of the community" began to be judged. It is not merely the Law given to Israel as a whole that is in view, but the special interpretations of the Torah brought by the Teacher of Righteousness under which only the sect of Qumran lived. So 1QS is looking back on an event--- the bringing of the "first laws" by the Teacher.

With whom then are we to identify the "prophet"? It is quite obvious that he is the Messianic forerunner. But this time there is a change---it is not Moses, but Elijah! 1QS 9:19,20 describes the period before the end as "the time of clearing the way in the wilderness". 1QS 8:13,14 speaks of going "to the wilderness to clear there the way of (the Lord)". This is strikingly similar to Malachi 3:1, "Behold

I send My messenger (Elijah) to clear the way before Me".²⁵

Elijah as a Messianic figure is quite common in Rabbinic literature. According to tradition one of the functions of Elijah in the last days will be to deal with all those legal problems and difficulties which Israel had been unable to solve through the years. So milday. 8:7 says that the mission of Elijah will be לְהַקְלִיט הַמִּשְׁפָּטִים, "to make the difficulties smooth". This is also pointed up in I Maccabees 4:41-47:

Then Judas appointed certain men to fight against those who were in the fortress, until he had cleansed the sanctuary. So he chose priests of blameless life such as had pleasure in the Law, and they cleansed the sanctuary . . . and laid up stones in the mountain of the house in a convenient place, until there should come a prophet to show what should be done with them.

I Maccabees 14:41 also reflects this tradition with the words, "Simon should be their governor and high priest forever, until there should arise a faithful prophet".²⁶

25. N.Wieder, op. cit., p.170, does not like the identification of the "prophet" with Elijah because, he says, Elijah was well known, so why would they conceal his identity? However in similar fashion why does John (1:21) obscure Moses under the title "the prophet", or if, as Wieder believes, there are two Messiahs, why does the sect obscure the fact that one is from David by calling him "Messiah of Israel"?

26. Cf. bMen. 63a, "the vow must stand until Elijah comes"; 32a; 45a; bBek. 24a; bBer. 35b; bShabb. 108a; bPos. 13a; bHab. 25a; bYeb. 35b; 41b; 102a; bGit. 42b; mBaba Mot. 1:8; 3:4,5; mShek. 2:5; jBer. 1:1; Targ. Jon. Ex. 40:10; Targ. Jon. Deut. 30:4.

Another aspect of Elijah's Messianic activity is indicated in a tradition which speaks of him leading the "rest of the righteous" into the desert during the final days. They would flee there because of persecution. Following a period of forty-five days they would return, led by the Messiah, who would then begin his work of redemption.²⁷

Elijah the prophet, the Messianic precursor, would bring new laws and interpretations, and would introduce the Messiah. This is the role of the "prophet" in 1QS 9:11.

(2) In all of this how are we to understand the difference between CD, where the second Moses is the Messianic precursor, and 1QS, where it is Elijah? The explanation, I believe, is found in the second problem passage---CD 6:9-11, where further proof is given for the expectation of Elijah in 1QS. It reads,

They that have come to dig the well with the ordinances which the Lawgiver ordained to walk in them during the whole epoch of wickedness and without them they shall not attain to the arising of him who teaches righteousness in the end of days (עד עמד יורה הצדק בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים).

I suggest that this passage teaches the dual expectation of Moses and Elijah as Messianic figures, and it is this which explains the hope of another "prophet" aside from the Teacher of Righteousness. The "Lawgiver", we have previously seen,

²⁷. Cf. L. Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, VI, p. 340, note 112.

is to be identified with the Teacher of Righteousness as the second Moses, and here he is distinct from מֹשֶׁה הַשֵּׁנִי. The passage teaches that the sect was to abide by the rules brought by the second Moses until the arrival of another teacher in the last days. In Rabbinic tradition the Messiah is sometimes seen as a teacher of new laws, as the bringer of a new Torah. In Gen. R. 98:9 we read, "'He washes his garments in wine' (Gen. 49:11); this indicates that he (the Messiah) will compose for them words of torah; 'and his vesture in the blood of grapes' (Gen. 49:11), that he will restore to them their errors". Alphabet R. Akiba 27,28 says that in Messianic times Zerubbabel will recite the Kaddish after the lecture to be delivered by God on the new Torah which He is to reveal through the Messiah.²⁸ However מֹשֶׁה הַשֵּׁנִי is best interpreted as Elijah for three reasons. (a) Jewish tradition sees Moses and Elijah appearing together in the last days. John 1:19-21 speaks of three Messianic figures---"the Christ", "Elijah", and "the prophet". The identification of "the prophet" with Moses is made at the Transfiguration scene (Luke 9:30; cf. also Matt. 17:3,4; Mt. 9:4,5). The two witnesses of Revelation 11:3ff. are best interpreted as referring to Moses and Elijah. In Deut. R. 3:17 we read, "(God) added, Moses

²⁸. Cf. A. Jellinek, Bet ha-Midrash, III, p.27; VI, p.93.

I swear to you, as you devoted your life to their service in this world, so too in the time to come when I bring Elijah, the prophet, unto them, the two of you shall come together".²⁹ (b) The Messiah is not a teacher in the Scrolls, but always a warrior;³⁰ the teaching role is assigned to the priest. (c) Rabbinic interpretation of Elijah's Messianic activity is paralleled by this passage. L.Ginzberg has shown that the consistent Rabbinic understanding of Hosea 10:12, עַד יָבוֹא וְיִרְרָה צֶדֶק לָכֶם, "until he shall come and teach

29. Cf. also again bSukk. 52b, "'and the Lord showed me four craftsmen' (Zech. 2:3). Who are the four craftsmen? R.Hana ben Bizna, citing R.Simeon Hāsida, answered, Messiah son of David, Messiah son of Joseph, and Elijah, and the righteous priest (מָשִׁיחַ בֶּן דָּוִד מָשִׁיחַ בֶּן יוֹסֵף וְאֵלִיָּהוּ וְכֹהֵן צֶדֶק)". We have seen that the Teacher of Righteousness was a priest, and perhaps there is reflected here the expectation of Elijah and the second Moses=righteous priest. Cf. J.Jeremias, "Ἡλ(ε)ίας", TWzNT, II, pp.940,941; "Μωυσεῖς", IV, pp.859-861; Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, I, pp.756-758; IV, p.785; Bousset-Gressmann, Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter, p.233.

30. If Ch.Rabin's reconstruction of CD 14:18,19 is to be followed, it would imply that the Messiah will bring new laws. It reads, "and this is the exact statement of the rulings in which [they shall walk during the epoch of wickedness, until there shall arise the Messia^h of Aaron and Israel, and he will make conciliation for their trespass". However this would make (as he realizes, op. cit., p.71, note 19.1) the Messiah the one who forgives sins, a concept I do not find in the Scrolls. L. Ginzberg, Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte, I, p.129, restores, "[...] until God sends the Messia^h". The lacuna would also allow, "[...] until God sends a prophet and the Messia^h of Aaron and Israel (עַד אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהִים נָבִיא וּמָשִׁיחַ אַהֲרֹן וְיִשְׂרָאֵל)". Cf. I.Levi, op. cit., p.204; R.H.Charles, op. cit., p.34, note 8; M.-J.Lagrange, op. cit., p.238, note 1.

righteousness to you", is as a reference to Elijah (the earliest is bBek. 24a; c.250 A.D.).³¹ He further points to the Karaite commentary by Daniel al-Qumisi (9th A.D.) in which this verse is changed to read עַד יִבְרָא מִרְרָה צֶדֶק, as it also is in other post-Talmudic literature. As Ginzberg realized (p.314) Hosea 10:12, עַד יִבְרָא וִיִרְרָה צֶדֶק, closely parallels CD 6:11, עַד עֹמֵד יִרְרָה הַצֶּדֶק, as does the common Rabbinic phrase עַד שִׁיבְרָא אֱלִיָּהוּ, and very possibly may have been in the mind of the author of CD, and hence may be the background for the Rabbinic Elijah interpretation of such as bBek. 24a.³² The sect had seen the arising of the second Moses; they waited now for the appearance of Elijah, the one who would "teach righteousness in the end of days".

Now we can understand the reason for the Messianic expression in 1QS 9:11. Moses had come and gone; Elijah the prophet would be the next to arise.

The question may be raised, If this is so, then why does not the text mention the name of the Teacher of

31. L.Ginzberg, op. cit., pp.303-317 for further references; P.R.Weis, JQR XLI, 1950-1951, p.135; Ch.Rabin, op. cit., p.23, note 11.2.

32. We know that the Karaites had copies of the Zadokite Fragments (cf. H.L.Ginsberg, "The Dead Sea Manuscript Finds: New Light on Eretz Yisrael in the Greco-Roman Period", Israel: Its Role in Civilization (M.Davis, editor; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1956), p.47), and it may well be that the Elijahanic interpretation of CD 6:11 was the influencing factor in their understanding of Hosea 10:12.

Righteousness? Indeed his name is not found in all of 1QS. The reason perhaps lies simply in the fact that the sect of 1QS was different than that of CD. M.Burrows claims that the differences between the two documents "show that they do not come from exactly the same group".³³ However these differences should not lead us to think of the two groups as different in kind. 1QS was later than CD,³⁴ and so reflects development in doctrine perhaps, but certainly the two were the same in essence. The common themes of such as the "new covenant", the "Messiah of Aaron and Israel", and the priestly organization show that basically they held the same theological position. This will become clearer in the following pages. So it is probable that 1QS, being later than CD, did not stress the importance of the Teacher of Righteousness. He was dead, and the final days still lay ahead. The emphasis of 1QS is not on history, but on prophecy. Everything was geared to the eschaton. In any case an argument from silence is precarious, and we must let the other factors outlined above determine our understanding of the passage.

33. M.Burrows, op. cit., p.230.

34. Cf. appendix D for a discussion of the order of the documents.

III. King

The Teacher of Righteousness was a priest, he was a prophet, the forerunner of the Messiah, but he was also a king. In a day when the literal king had vanished from the scene, more and more authority was vested in the high priest. The priestly Maccabees exercised the right of kings. So in like manner the Teacher, perhaps claiming the legitimate high priesthood, leading the sect in spiritual sacrifices, prophesying concerning present and future days, led the sect out of Jerusalem and established himself as the controlling head. If my reconstruction of the following passage is accepted, the sect itself called the Teacher a "king".³⁵ He was then prophet, priest, and king to the remnant of Israel.³⁶

'And I have exiled the מלך of your king and the כִּיָּו of your images (and the star of your God) from My tent to Damascus'.³⁷ The books of the Law are the booth (מִכְבָּשׁ) of the king, as He said, 'And I will raise up the booth of David that is fallen'; the king is the assembly, and the pedestals (כִּיָּי) of the images (and the כִּיָּו of the images) are the

35. Cf. Zohar 3:83 where the phrase וַיְהִי בִישׁוּרֹן מֶלֶךְ (Deut. 33:5) is referred to Moses, "and he (Moses) became king in Jeshurun".

36. There are some who believe that the Teacher of Righteousness was considered to be the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah. Since I do not ascribe to this interpretation, I have reserved discussion of the matter until its proper place in chapter IV.

37. Reading with Rabin, op. cit., p.28 (cf. note 15.2).

books of the prophets whose words Israel despised. And the star is the Searcher of the Law who came to Damascus, as it is written, 'A star shall step forth out of Jacob and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel'. The sceptre is the prince of all the congregation, and when he arises he 'shall smite all the sons of Seth' (CD 7:14-21).

This passage is difficult to understand due to possible lacunae and the enigmatic interpretation of two quotations from Amos 5:25-27 and Numbers 24:17. The whole thing is a midrash referring to various key personalities and things in the sect. One must keep in mind that the author claims that all the figures in 7:14,15, the מלך and the יריב (and probably also "king" and "images"), were exiled from Jerusalem to Damascus.

Line 17 reads, "the king is the assembly, and the pedestals (יריב) of the images (and the יריב of the images) are the books of the prophets". There is either a ditto-graphy here, or as Rabin points out,³⁸ the copyist finding the incorrect יריב in his version did not delete it, but added the correct version. However what is more important to notice here is that this verse seems to require additional text after the words "the king is", though the manuscript does not contain a lacuna. In the interpretation of Amos 5 various figures are introduced and explained,

38. Ch.Rabin, op. cit., p.30.

yet others are explained without previously having been introduced. There is no interpretation of "images" and the "star" is explained without having been mentioned before. Thus there are two main problems here. (1) The first concerns the lack of interpretation of "images". Rabin suggests restoring וְהַמְלִיכִים הָיוּ מְשִׁילִים between וְהָיוּ לְךָ חֲסִידִים and וְהָיוּ לְךָ חֲסִידִים.³⁹ This is a possibility, however וְהָיוּ לְךָ חֲסִידִים carries Messianic connotations (cf. CD 7:20), while the context of these verses has reference to pre-Messianic days, that is, to the flight to Damascus. Rabin explains his use of וְהָיוּ לְךָ חֲסִידִים by claiming that this was the one for whom a new Torah had to be written, as stated in Deuteronomy 17:18. But we already know from CD 7:15,16 that the books of the Mosaic Law, the original Torah, were connected with this "king". Also, if the analogy is to be carried out, Deuteronomy 17:18 refers to the events in the promised land, not to the wilderness experience. As we have seen this latter time is the one in view in these verses. I would suggest reading וְהָיוּ לְךָ חֲסִידִים (the king is (the Searcher of the Law, and the images are the wise men (instructors; 1QS 3:13; Dan. 11:3) cf) the assembly". Notice these

39. Ch. Rabin, op. cit., pp. 28, 29.

facts: (a) The Searcher of the Law=the Teacher of Righteousness was the one who gave new interpretations of the Torah. The Law was his "booth", the basis of his ministry. CD 6:7 calls him a "Lawgiver". We can therefore equate "king" and "Teacher of Righteousness".⁴⁰ (b) CD 7:17 says that the books of the prophets formed the pedestals of the מִנְבֵּלִים. It is clear from the numerous quotations, especially from Isaiah and Ezekiel, that the prophets formed a major part of the sect's teaching. They were the pedestals, or foundations, of the sect's Messianic hopes, for in them they saw their own rise and the coming of the Messiah. The מִנְבֵּלִים were those who taught these things to the group as a whole, as 1QS 3:13 says, "For the wise man's use that he may instruct and teach". Thus מִנְבֵּלִים is best interpreted as a reference to the instructors of the sect.

(2) The second problem concerns the reason for the sudden explanation of the "star". Rabin suggests that this presupposes a previous mention of מִנְבֵּלִים in the passage.⁴¹ This is undoubtedly correct, for the author is following

40. Moses also was known as "king" of Israel. Cf. L. Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, II, p.316; III, pp.67, 142, 153, 154, 187, 188, 251, 286, 288, 296, 298, 384, 421, 455; V, pp.404, 422; VI, pp.28, 60, 75, 154; also Philo, Vita Mosis, 3:23, 39.

41. Ch.Rabin, op. cit., p.29, note 15.1.

a pattern in his interpretation that would be broken if the "star" had not been mentioned before. Considering the text of Amos 5, וְהָיָה כִּי יָבִיט אֱלֹהִים⁴² is probably to be restored in CD 7:15 following וְהָיָה כִּי יָבִיט אֱלֹהִים. H.H.Rowley sees in this "star" a second leader of the group,⁴³ but the evidence leads us to equate him with the Teacher of Righteousness.⁴⁴ His link with the Searcher of the Law of CD 6:7, his relationship to Damascus, and (if the restoration is correct) his identification with the "king", all point to the Teacher of Righteousness.

There is no difficulty in the double interpretation of the Teacher of Righteousness-Searcher of the Law from the Amos passage. The author merely saw a two-fold emphasis on the work of the Teacher---first as an interpreter of the Torah, for the books of the Law were his "booth", and second as a leader who would "step forth out of Jacob".

In light of this how are we to understand the apocryphal

42. Inserting the "and" as in the LXX, Peshitta, and Vulgate.

43. H.H.Rowley, op. cit., p.35.

44. Cf. S.Schechter, Fragments of a Zadokite Work, p. xiii, who identifies the "star" with the Messiah resurrected. Also I.Lévi, op. cit., p.187, note 9; Ch.Rabin, op. cit., p.30. I.Rabinowitz, JBL LXXIII, 1954, p.27 claims that the title is used both for the "Searcher of the Law" and for the Davidic Messiah. But it is clear that the author of CD sees two figures in the quotation from Numbers 24:17---the "star" who has already come to Damascus, and the "sceptre" who will come to Israel.

references to the Messiah as a "star" in such phrases as "and his star shall arise in heaven as of a king, lighting up the light of knowledge as the sun the day" (Test. Levi 18:3), and "after these things shall a star arise to you from Jacob in peace, and a man shall arise (from my seed) like the sun of righteousness" (Test. Judah 24:1)? First of all it should be remembered that there need not be agreement between such works and the Qumran Scrolls. They are by no means consistent among themselves. The various Messiahs in I Enoch itself is a case in point, where at one time he is an earthly figure (83-90), while at another an heavenly person (37-71). Terms may be used interchangeably in these works. It is quite possible that the "star" can refer to the Messiah in one case, and to the Teacher of Righteousness in the other.⁴⁵ Agreement in names is not startling. The "star" can, without serious objection, be understood to be the Teacher of Righteousness.

In summary, the Teacher of Righteousness, as priest, prophet, and king, was the focal point of the sect's life and doctrine. He achieved that stature, in large part, because he was considered to be the second Moses. He was a unique Messianic figure, the giver of new law interpretations,

45. Cf. Isaiah 30:20 where Yahweh is given the title "teacher" (מורה).

the teacher of righteousness, the vessel of God's revelations, and the searcher of the Torah. However after his death the sect awaited the coming of another one who would teach righteousness, the prophet Elijah. His arising would immediately precede the appearance of the Mossiah.

CHAPTER III

THE NATURE OF THE ESCHATON

The concept of an eschaton was not an early part of Hebrew thought. In fact the Old Testament did not really develop a true eschatology until the time of the eighth-century prophets. Prior to this eschatology, if we may use the term, was merely a vague, indefinite hope of a better age. Yahweh would intervene against Israel's enemies, and things would get better. The references to the "last days", such as in Genesis 49:1 and Numbers 24:14, indicate merely an undefined future of happiness. Thus Joshua gives instructions regarding the conquering of Canaan, "until the Lord gives rest to your brethren as well as to you" (1:15). It was the general expectation of the out-working of God's purpose in history, of His creating a righteous nation and establishing His dominion on the earth. There was no violent conclusion to things in the concept of the future.

When the eighth-century prophets arrived on the scene it was this vague "eschatological" hope that they found. The people spoke of the "Day of Jahweh", a time when the Gentiles would be defeated by God, when Israel would emerge victorious. But this "Day" was not really eschatological, for the expected event was to be in history, and history

would continue after its occurrence. It was merely a change of fortunes, the coming of a better age. They envisioned the end of an era, but not the end of the world as it was known. There was no true eschaton, and so their hope cannot strictly be called "eschatological". However with the prophets we meet a change. Their expectation was the reverse of the popular hope of the day. "Yahweh's intention, they proclaimed, was not to succour an injured people, but to punish an erring one".¹ The Day of Jahweh would be a day of judgment, a time of doom for Israel. It would be "as if a man fled from a lion, and a bear met him" (Amos 5:19). God was going to punish His people, and His "hired razor" would be Israel's enemies. Some of the prophets, like Hosea and Joel, saw this merely as a turnabout of the popular hope, that is, out of the normal flow of events would come Israel's punishment. However other of the prophets saw the Day in a different way. It was not to be an event arising out of history, but rather history would come to an end by a sudden cataclysmic intrusion of God. So the threat in Isaiah 13:9-11 is:

Behold the day of the Lord comes,
cruel, with wrath and fierce anger,
To make the earth a desolation
and to destroy its sinners from it.
For the stars of the heavens and their
constellations

1. S.B.Frost, Old Testament Apocalyptic. Its Origins and Growth, p.46.

will not give their light.
 The sun will be dark at its rising,
 and the moon will not shed its light.
 I will visit the world (for) its evil,
 and the wicked (for) their iniquity;
 I will put an end to the pride of the arrogant,
 and bring low the haughtiness of the ruthless.

Life would continue, and in this world, but in some undefined way it would be an entirely new quality of life.

Thus it says in Zephaniah 3:8,9,

Therefore wait for Me, says the Lord,
 for the day when I arise as a witness
 For My decision is to gather nations,
 to assemble kingdoms,
 To pour out upon them My indignation,
 all the heat of My anger;
 For in the fire of My jealous wrath
 all the earth shall be consumed.
 For then I will restore unto the people
 a pure speech,
 That all of them may call on the name of
 the Lord
 and serve Him with one accord.

Though the wider effects of the Day are mentioned, the emphasis is generally on the punishment coming upon the people of Israel. With forceful literary style, Amos, in his judgments on the nations (1:3-2:3), weaves his pattern of words to move from one surrounding nation to another until, having gone in a circle, he ends his denunciation on Judah and Israel. His argument is geographical and psychological. The other nations all around are to receive God's judgment; there is no reason to suppose

that Judah and Israel will escape His wrath.

The concept of a great cataclysm is one of the marks of true apocalyptic, and here and there in the prophets we notice the beginning of another theme which came to full fruition in a later age. The eschatological battle partakes more and more of the nature of the supernatural, that is, the final conflict is raised to a plane in which not only physical, but spiritual issues are at stake. The enemy overthrown is not just wicked Israel, not only the nations, but in reality the supernatural force of evil itself. This age would end completely and finally; the new age would then begin purified of all wickedness. It is this emphasis that we find in the Gog vision of Ezekiel 38,39 and in the Flying Roll and Ephah visions of Zechariah 5. Commenting on the latter S.R.Driver says, "The (Ephah) vision supplements the preceding one, declaring that not only the sinners, but wickedness, the living principle of sin, is to be banished from the Israel of the future".²

As is to be expected much of the extra-canonical literature continues this new prophetic emphasis, enlarging, making more vivid. Indeed it is this viewpoint which is one of the characteristics of the apocalyptic books. Those

2. S.R.Driver, The Minor Prophets. Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi (CB. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906), p.206.

writings generally found their roots in an abnormal situation, during a time of much persecution and discouragement among the Hebrew people. Invasion was either imminent, or else the foreign oppressor had already devastated the land. God's laws were being flaunted, His people were being abused, and men's hearts were melted with fear. It was at this time that the apocalypticist would arise proclaiming that all this would soon come to an end. The great increase of immorality, suffering, and destruction were but harbingers of the final denouement of history. Evil had run its course; its period was ended. God was just about to enter history in order to crush the forces of Belial forever. The מַלְאָכִים were at hand.³

The actual completion of the age is generally viewed in one of two ways. (1) Some of the works, like Jubilees and the Psalms of Solomon, continue the early Old Testament viewpoint of a non-cataclysmic evolvement of God's kingdom. In Jubilees it is brought about gradually by the increasing spiritual development of men, while in the Psalms of Solomon it is set up by the God-empowered Messiah. In other

3. Cf. Sib.Ora. 3:63ff.; 154ff.; I Enoch 99:4ff.; 100:1-3; IV Ezra 5:1-4a; II Bar. 25-27; 48:31-37; Test. Levi 17; cf. also Matt. 24:3-28; Mk. 13:3-23; Luke 21:8-24; II Thess. 2:3,4; Hosea 13:13ff.; Micah 7:1-6; Dan. 12:1; mSot. 9:15; bSanh. 96b-97a; bShabb. 118a; Pos.R. 21:31.

words, in these books there is no eschaton in the proper sense of the word.⁴ However this is not the common apocalyptic viewpoint. (2) The other books speak of good times coming for the righteous, but there is no hope for the future kingdom evolving out of the present age. The change would be too great; the contrast between them too severe. The present was inextricably bound up with evil. There must be a complete break, and only God could initiate and bring in the new age for evil itself must be destroyed. So that which we found here and there in the prophets becomes the dominant theme of the apocalypticist. No road of disaster upon disaster, of tremendous natural disturbances, of great cataclysms of fire,⁵ of supernatural hosts of warriors, of the purging and renovation of the universe. It is the בְּנֵי, not just the יִשְׂרָאֵל, that is to be cleansed.⁶

4. It is true that both of these works view evil as banished from the land of Israel, but the finality of a God-directed eschaton is missing.

5. Cf. Apoc. Abraham 30:1ff.; Sib. Ora. 3:54ff.; 286ff.; 538ff.; 632ff.; 796ff.; 5:346-349; I Enoch 80:2-7; 91:5-9; IV Ezra 5:4b-10; 6:21-24; II Bar. 27; 48:38-43; cf. also Amos 8:9; Joel 2:10,11; Matt. 24:29-35; Mk. 13:24-31; Luke 21:25-33; bSanh. 97b; Cant. R. 2:13; bKeth. 112b.

6. Cf. Sib. Ora. 3:519ff.; 512ff.; 652ff.; I Enoch 56:5ff.; 100:4ff.; IV Ezra 13:1-53; II Bar. 70:7-10; cf. also Ezra 38,39; Zech. 13:2-9; Rev. 20; Targ. Jon. Ex. 40:11; Num. 24:17; Yeru. Num. 11:26; Deut. 32:39; mEduy. 2:10; Lev. R. 19; bAb. Zar. 3b; bBer. 7b; Pes. R. 9:20ff. Though of course righteous Israel would take part in this final destruction, the emphasis is always on the supernatural elements.

Apocalyptic then contains a general order of events ---(1) the time of much persecution and suffering out of which the author wrote, when the world was rebelling against the Lord, (2) the outpouring of fire and the upheaval of nature, (3) the great judgment battle of God, and finally (4) the dawning of the new age.

With this background in mind let us consider the evidence of the Qumran texts. L.H.Silberman has raised a question regarding the meaning of "eschatology" in the Scrolls. He writes, "Does it imply a theory of cosmic end 'wlm hb'? or does it refer to the end of an era ymwt hmsyh?"⁷ Actually it could refer to both if the Scrolls hold a double eschaton point of view. Many of the apocalyptic works exhibit such a teaching, that is, the earthly new age will only be temporary, and will be followed by a second time of judgment in which men will be assigned either to heaven or hell. I Enoch 91:12-17; 93:1ff. first propound this doctrine. However what we want to discover here is the nature of the final days in which the sect was living. In other words, how did the men of Qumran conceive of the end of the present age. As they saw what to them were the signs of the Day of Jahweh, what exactly would the end be like?

7. L.H.Silberman, "The Two 'Messiahs' of the Manual of Discipline", VT V, 1955, p.79.

On whom would the judgment fall----only the Gentiles, or all the unrighteous? Do the Scrolls contain the concept of a true eschaton? Is there a sense of finality to the end days, is history brought to a conclusion, or does the old Hebrew idea of merely a better age still linger in the thoughts of the writers? These questions are the burden of this chapter. The problem of a double eschaton, though it will come into the discussion from time to time, is better examined in chapter VII, where we will notice the details and duration of the kingdom.

There are two types of expectation in the Scrolls, just as there are in the Old Testament and in the inter-Testamental literature---a better age and a new age.

A BETTER AGE

A. The Rule of the Congregation and the Benedictions

In both of these Scrolls the ancient Hebrew "eschatological" concepts survive, as they do in Jubilees and the Psalms of Solomon. There is no apocalyptic view of the end, no great natural upheavals, no supernatural purging of the world. There is no hint that the present age will come to a violent halt, and that the next age will be of a different character. In the style of the earliest Hebrew literature Israel will rise up in the holy war to

"humble many peoples" (1QSa 1:21; 1QSB 5:18). The K'WJ will lead them to world domination. The new era will evolve out of the old. The Temple and the priesthood will be restored (1QSB 3,4). It will be a better age, a turn-about in the fortunes of God's people, but not necessarily a different kind of age.

The Messianic leader of the future period is called MTYH K'WJ, "the prince of the congregation", and is described in the Davidic terms of Isaiah 11, for of him it is said, "you shall strike the peoples with the power of your mouth" (1QSB 5:24). The destruction of the nations by his hand will not be complete, for God has established him as a "sceptre of rulers", and "all peoples will serve" him (1QSB 5:27,28).

1QSa and 1QSB do not picture the abolishing of sin, nor the destruction of all the unrighteous. They look merely for the extension of Israel's power to engulf the whole world. It is true that the influence of the apocalypticist is seen in the concept of a Messiah, a warrior-king, but still there is no eschaton in the proper sense of the word, no sharp division between this age and the days of the Messiah.

A NEW AGE

A. The Psalms of Thanksgiving

The dramatic imagery of apocalyptic is found in

abundance in this scroll, though in the final analysis it is symbolism not too far removed from that of the Old Testament. The end of the world will be an awe-inspiring event.

And I, a creature of clay, what am I?
Formed⁸ with water, for whom do I have value?
And what is my strength?
For I have taken my stand with the lot of
wickedness,

:25 And with the portion of evil.⁹
And the soul of the poor is stirred¹⁰ with
great disquiet,
And wrath's destruction accompanies my steps.

When all the snares of the pit have opened up,
And all the nets of wickedness are spread out,¹¹
And the traps of evil are upon the face of
the waters.

When all the arrows of the pit have flown forth
without hindrance,
And are loosed without (leaving) hope;

8. Reading לָבַן from לָבַן, "knead, form", with M. Wallenstein, Hymns From the Judean Scrolls (Manchester: University Press, 1950), p.18, note 20; cf. Lev.R. 29.

9. לֹאֵלֶךְ, reading as an intensive plural, such as with לֹאֵלֶךְ elsewhere in the Hodayot. The only Biblical occurrence of לֹאֵלֶךְ is in Psalm 10 (vss. 8,10,14). The root is also found in Targ. Job 11:17. Cf. Arabic حَلَّ, "be black". The Biblical meaning is admittedly not clear, the general translation being "hapless" or "unfortunate". The word in the context above is in parallel with נֶפֶשׁ (cf. line 26 for the same parallel), and Wallenstein (p.18) rightly shows that the Biblical text of Psalm 10 can support such a translation as proposed above. The Targum offers no help, and is corrected, as Jastrow indicates (I, p.464) to לֹאֵלֶךְ. Cf. R.P.R. Tournay, "Les anciens manuscrits hébreux récemment découverts", RB LVI, 1949, p.221, note 18.

10. Reading רָאָה from רָאָה, "stir up strife, quarrel". Possibly it should be read from רָאָה, "dwell, sojourn" because of the parallel with the following line.

11. Cf. Psa. 18:5,6; Ezek. 12:13; 17:20.

When the line of judgment has fallen,¹²
 And the lot of anger upon the forsaken,
 And the pouring out of wrath upon the outcasts;¹³
 When all Belial (shall have) a season of wrath,¹⁴
 And pangs of death shall surround so that there
 is no escape,
 And the rivers of Belial¹⁵ shall overflow all
 high banks,¹⁶
 As a fire¹⁷ consuming all their plants,¹⁸

12. וּבְנִינָה לְפָנֵי קוֹל הַמִּשְׁפָּט, "in the falling of the line in accordance with judgment"; cf. Num 35:24; Deut. 17:11; Jer. 30:18 for similar use of .

13. נִסְתָּרִים, "concealed ones", translated according to the parallel with נִסְתָּרִים; cf. Isa. 42:25; Jer. 7:20.

14. Or "and (it is) the time of fury for all Belial".

15. This appears to mean the forces of evil, the Gentile nations; cf. Jer. 47:2; Psa. 124:4 for use of "rivers" as a symbol of the invading enemy.

16. Reading with Sukenik, 'Otzar, ad loc., אֲפֵי רֹם, "banks of height", against Wallenstein, op. cit., p.14, אֲפֵי (ר) אֵי, "channels of water". For the meaning of "banks" of a river, cf. bB.Kam. 61a; bB.Bath. 99b.

17. Cf. Lam. 2:4; Nahum 1:6.

18. אֵי בְּאֵי. Wallenstein, op. cit., p.14 reads אֵי בְּאֵי, "their wells", but the nun is quite plain. The word is unknown elsewhere, but here it seems to be in parallel with "tree". For this reason I have read the word as a Saph'el formation noun from נָבַט, "spring forth", that is, "those which give bud, cause sproutings" (cf. Jastrow, II, p.888). Cf. also נָבַט, "growth, bud", Targ.Hosea 8:7; 9:16; נָבַט, "sproutings", bAb.Zar. 48b; bMeil. 14a. The aleph is then a silent aleph often found in the Scrolls after long vowels, e.g. כִּי, IQM 15:1; עַיִן, IQIsa 57:14; אֵי, IQpHab 2:16; and in the middle of words, even after short vowels, e.g. עַיִן for עַיִן, IQIsa 42:19; אֵי for אֵי, IQIsa 30:31; cf. also אֵי, Hosea 10:14; דָּא, Neh. 13:16; אֵי, Joel 4:19, as pointed out by Baumgarten and Mansoor, "Studies in the New Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns)-II", JBL LXXIV, 1955, p.189.

:30 Destroying every green and withered tree in their path,¹⁹
 Then it shall go about with flaming sparks until all their foundations are no more.²⁰
 The foundations of asphalt it shall consume, And the expense²¹ of dry land.
 The bases of the mountains (shall turn) to burning,²²
 And the roots of flint to rivers of pitch. And it shall consume unto the great deep.
 And the rivers of Belial shall burst through to Abaddon,²²
 And the intelligent beings of the deep²³ shall roar, With a tumult those who stir up mud.

 Then the earth shall cry out because of the destruction which comes upon the world,²⁴
 And all its intelligent beings shall shout, And all who are upon it shall be in panic, And they shall be in terror because of the great destruction,

19. מִמֵּינֵיהֶם literally, "from their channels".

20. Reading מִשְׁכָּנֵיהֶם (Suknik, loc. cit., transcribes מִשְׁכָּנֵיהֶם) from מִשְׁכָּנֵיהֶם, "foundation, bottom" (cf. מִשְׁכָּנֵיהֶם). Cf. mMid. 3:3; bMeil. 11b; also Psa. 11:3, "if the foundations (הַיְּסוּדִים) be destroyed", although there the verbal root is מִשְׁכָּנֵיהֶם.

21. Perhaps better read as בִּרְקִיעַ, instead of Suknik's בִּרְקִיעַ.

22. Cf. Deut. 32:21, 22 where, as in the passage above, it is a foolish nation whom God will use as a fire.

23. Or "the wicked". Wallenstein, loc. cit., translates מִשְׁכָּנֵיהֶם as "ranges", taking the word as a Miktal type meaning "planned lay-out". However the occurrence of the word in line 33 seems to require a reference to living beings. So read as a Piel, מִשְׁכָּנֵיהֶם, "thinking ones of", a reference to the wicked in general, as is seen from the parallel with "those who stir up mud" and Isa. 57:20. Perhaps it should be emended to מִשְׁכָּנֵיהֶם, "inhabitants of" or even מִשְׁכָּנֵיהֶם, "prisoners of" (cf. Isa. 42:7).

24. Notice that it is בָּאֵשׁ.

For God shall thunder in the tumult of His strength,
 :35 And His holy abode shall roar in the truth of His
 glory,
 And the host of the heavens shall utter their voice,²⁵
 And the foundations of the world shall melt and quake,
 And the war of the warriors of the heavens shall
 roam about the world,²⁶
 And it shall not withdraw until the destruction,
 For the decree is final,²⁷ and there is none like it.
 (3:23-36)

The general picture is clear---not one part of the world will be left untouched by God's hand---but the details are obscure and it is difficult to follow the exact sequence of events, if indeed there is one to be followed. However behind the spectacular imagery we can catch glimpses of the author's thoughts. Judgment upon Israel is seen as coming by the "rivers of Belial" sweeping over the land. Throughout the Scrolls the enemies of Israel are seen as under Belial's control. 1QM 1:1 says, "The beginning of the extending of the hand of the sons of light shall be to hurl against the lot of the sons of darkness, against the might of Belial". We can see a parallel here with Isaiah 8:7-8,

Behold the Lord is bringing up against them the waters of the river, mighty and many, the king of Assyria and all his glory, and it will rise over all

25. Cf. 1QM 12:1, "and hosts of angels in Thy holy abode".

26. Cf. 1QM 12:9, "the hosts of His spirits are with our army and our horsemen, as clouds and as a thick mist".

27. לְהַרְסָהּ; Isa. 10:22,23, "Destruction is decreed, overflowing with righteousness. For the Lord, the Lord of hosts, will make a full end, as decreed, in the midst of all the earth" (cf. 28:22; Dan. 9:27).

its channels and go over all its banks, and it will sweep on into Judah, it will overflow and pass on, reaching even to the neck, and its outspread wings will fill the breadth of Your land, O Immanuel.

The intense symbolism of such phrases as "it shall consume unto the great deep" is to be explained merely as a reference to the fact that no wicked person shall escape. The passage is not teaching the destruction of Sheol, but rather that God's vengeance on the unrighteous will be complete. Amos 9:2-4 expresses the same thought,

Though they dig into Sheol,
from there shall My hand take them;
Though they climb unto the heavens,
from there I will bring them down.
Though they hide themselves on the top of Carmel,
from there I will search out and take them;
And though they hide from My sight at the bottom
of the sea,
there I will command the serpent, and it
shall bite them.
And though they go into captivity before their
enemies,
there I will command the sword, and it shall
slay them;
And I will set My eyes upon them
for evil and not for good.

So also we find the same severity of expression in Deuteronomy 32:22, where Jahweh says,

For a fire is kindled by My anger,
and it burns to the depths of Sheol,
And it devours the earth and its increase,
and sets on fire the foundations of
the mountains.

The description in the Hodayot is of necessity a strong one. These are the last times; this is God's "Day". Evil is having its final hour, and the earth has never

known such calamity. The author can only speak of it in the most vivid terms. But we must be careful not to take him too literally. The Hebrew was not always concerned with the veracity of his details. The problem of Kings and Chronicles is a case in point, or the favorite habit of mixing metaphors, such as we find in Isaiah 30:27ff. The end result, the impression made, was all that really mattered. If this were not so, we would have trouble understanding something that appears later in this scroll. That is, if the words above are to be taken literally, if as the author seems to say, every wicked person is to be destroyed from the earth, how then are we to interpret the fact that column 6 speaks of other nations left on the earth in the new age? It says, in a context which clearly relates the details of the post-eschaton period, "all nations shall know Thy truth, and all peoples Thy glory" (6:2; cf. 6:31ff.; Ezek. 39:21).²⁸ Of course this might be explained as being two different periods of time. In 1QH 6 we are given the result of the first "eschaton", of the conquering of the nations, or in other words, the normal Old Testament expectation of the Messianic kingdom, and in 1QH 3 the second eschaton is depicted, the final destruction

28. Cf. infra, pp.222ff. for further discussion of this passage.

of the world. Thus LQH would teach a double eschaton. But is this the explanation? Is it not rather that there is only one eschaton, and the author is only trying to impress the severity of the last days upon his readers? He does not intend to be taken literally. This is just what the prophet Zephaniah did. In Zephaniah 1:2,3 we read of God saying, "I will completely sweep away everything from the face of the earth . . . I will cut off mankind from the face of the earth". What could be more complete than that threat? Yet later not only does God promise to leave a righteous remnant (3:12), but also 3:20 tells us that many other peoples will remain.

At that time I will bring you back,
at the time when I gather you together;
For I will make you renowned and praised
among all the peoples of the earth,
When I restore your fortunes
before your eyes, says the Lord.

This must be the explanation of the psalm above. Tremendous times are ahead; fearsome days. God will purge evil from the world. The author speaks of "fire", of "sparks", of "rivers of Belial", of total destruction. Yet somehow nations are left, and the new righteousness seems only to extend to the chosen remnant in Israel.²⁹ Indeed, returning

²⁹. This of course is parallel with the teaching in Jubilees and the Psalms of Solomon.

to column 6 again, the author speaks of keeping away the enemy from border to border (6:31).³⁰ Thus it is clear that this psalm is speaking of the end of "this world" and the beginning of the Messianic age. There is no "world to come" in view.

Further evidence for the single eschaton viewpoint is found in another passage where we are again given a vigorous picture of the end days.

She³¹ who was pregnant with nought³² shall be possessed by an agonizing pain,

30. Cf. IQH 14:15,16, "and every evil and rebellious one Thou shalt destroy forever", and yet in IQH frag 10,11 there are hints in the phrase "sons of man" that after the eschaton such will not literally be the case. Cf. a similar type expression in the deVaux fragment ("La Grotte des manuscrits hébreux", RB LVI, 1949, pp.605-609; also I. Rabinowitz, "The Authorship, Audience, and Date of the deVaux Fragment of an Unknown Work", JBL LXXI, 1952, p.21), "when the begotten of unrighteousness are delivered up . . . shall wickedness wholly cease forever . . . and all the adherents of the mysteries of [Belial] are to be no more" (:4-6; Rabinowitz).

31. The Qumran sect; cf. chapter IX, pp.350,351.

32. נָפֶס; cf. Isa. 26:18; "pregnant with nought" is symbolic for anxious and disappointed waiting for the coming of the Messiah. There has been a delay, but he will soon come. In Isa. 41:24 נָפֶס is parallel with יָסָ. Elsewhere in the Old Testament (Isa. 30:6; 59:5; Job 20:16) it is translated "viper". In IQH 8:36 נָפֶס is perhaps an error for נָפֶס. J. Chamberlain, "Another Qumran Thanksgiving Psalm", JNES XIV, 1955, p.34 translates "viper" and understands it as a reference to the "adversary" or "anti-Christ" (p.37, note 32). However such a human figure is unknown to the Scrolls (it is not the "wicked priest" because the woman is still pregnant) or to pre-Christian Judaism. L.H. Silberman, "Language and Structure in the Hodayot (IQH 3)", JBL LXXV, 1956, p.104 connects נָפֶס with the root נָפַס, "to groan" (so used in Midr. Tanh., Emor 11), and translates here "a groaning or crying mother".

And (by) the waves of the pit,
 By all acts of horror,
 And the foundations of the wall shall crumble
 Like a ship upon the face of the waters.
 And the clouds shall roar with a tumultuous sound,
 And those who dwell in the dust³³ (shall be) as
 those who go down to the sea,³⁴
 Terrified by the roar of the waters.
 And as for their skillful men,
 All of them (shall be) as mariners in the depths
 (of the sea),

:15 For all their skill shall disappear³⁵ in the
 roaring of the seas,
 When the depths boil over the springs of the waters
 They shall ra/go³⁶ unto the heights of the waves,
 And (unto) the breakers of the waters,
 With the roar of their voice and their raging.
 They shall open the gates of . . .]³⁷
 . . . the arrows of the pit;
 With their step into the abyss
 They shall make their voice heard,
 And they shall open the gates of Sheol
To all deeds of nought,
 And they shall shut the gates of the pit
 Upon her who conceives injustice,
 And the bars of eternity upon all the spirits
 of nought. (3:12b-18)

Here the consummation of evil is plainly foretold. Sin will
 be no more, for the gates of Sheol will close on all "deeds
 of nought". Yet it is clear that the context refers to the

33. Or "the inhabitants of the earth".

34. Cf. Psa. 107:23ff.

35. Cf. Psa. 107:27 where in the RSV the phrase is
 translated, "at their wits' end".

36. ו/תרג.

37.] ו/ער. J. Chamberlain, op. cit., p. 39, note
 50, identifies the subject of "they" as angelic or demonic
 powers whose function it is to open and close the gates of
 Sheol; cf. I Enoch 20.

Messianic woes and the purification of the land, and not to any destruction of the world, for just prior to this, in 3:7-12a, we are given a description of the coming birth of a "man-child", the Messiah, who will be born in the midst of great tribulation. In 3:12b-18 the author describes the outcome of that trouble---the visitation of God. The imagery is extreme, of course, but this is natural. The author yearns passionately for vindication, for revenge, and he writes in the most severe terms he can.

It is interesting to notice that the destruction takes place by water, and not by fire as in the previous hymn. Of course in 3:23-26 it is water "as fire", but here it is merely water. The whole description is couched in terms of the sea. The foundations shall crumble "like a ship", skillful men shall be "as mariners in the depths of the sea", and it will be the time when "the depths boil over". The whole earth will become a vast ocean, for after the "clouds" have roared in the pouring out of rain, the inhabitants of the land shall be "as those who go down to the sea, terrified by the roar of the waters". The implication is that the earth will be covered with water and washed clean of evil doers.³⁸

38. I Enoch 54:7-10 also sees the destruction of the world by water, while I Enoch 10 uses the theme of the Noachic deluge merely as a reference to the actual Flood, describing the evil brought by the "Watchers" coming down from heaven.

Two other accounts, very fragmentary, parallel the description in 3:23-36.

The deep shall be dried up of every living thing,
 lead with majestic waters,
 fire,
 And they shall be dried up.
 And the planting of fruit . . .
 eternal for a glorious delight.³⁹
 (8:19,20)

. consuming . . .
 on the dry land,
 :5 And striking very sudden^{ly} . . .

 From the judgment of the time . . .
 wickedness . . .
 :10 And from the judgment of . . .
 Thy servant from all his transgression.
 . . . Thou hast ^{sp}oken by the hand of Moses

 . . . the foundations of the mountains,
 And a fire ^{con}suming⁴⁰ unto the depths of
 Sheol.⁴¹
 :15 And (Thou shalt) cast out all th^{oir} iniquit^{ies},⁴²
 And give them a possession in all the glory of
 Adam,
^{And}a multitude of days. (17:3-15)

Though there are many lacunae the teaching is clear. There will be a fire consuming the "dry land", "striking very suddenly", destroying the "foundations of the mountains", drying up the "deep", and eating its way even "unto Sheol".

39. Or "Eden of glory"; cf. Isa. 51:3.

40. ^{אכל}.

41. Cf. Deut. 32:22.

42. ^{אכל}.

Then will be the time of "judgment" for all "wickedness", the moment when God will "cast out all their iniquities". Micah uses the same intensity of expression regarding the final days when he writes (1:3,4),

For behold, the Lord is coming forth out of
His place,
And He will come down and walk upon the high
places of the earth.
And the mountains will melt under Him,
And the valleys will be split,
Like wax before the fire,
Like waters poured down a steep place.

Elsewhere in the scroll we find phrases such as "Thou shalt give . . . a shattering to all the people of the earth, cutting off in judgment all those who transgress Thy word" (4:26,27), "in the flames of its brightness all the sons of perversion shall be burned . . . and it shall be a fire burning up all men of guilt unto destruction" (6:18,19), "all sons of guilt shall be no more" (6:30), "the time of heat" (8:23), "He shall sprout as a burning fire" (8:30), "until the destruction of evil" (11:22), and "the wicked spirits . . . shall be no longer . . . wicked spirits which shall be destroyed" (frag 5:4-6).

The nature of the eschaton in the Psalms of Thanks-giving is clear. History will come to a sudden halt. Fire will pour out from heaven, and the clouds will empty themselves of a deluge of rain. The deep will burst forth and cover the earth. All evil doors, evil itself, will

be destroyed. At least this is the imagery that the author uses to describe the final days. Yet we discovered that he is only employing poetic hyperbole. The eschaton will be a horrifying thing, and the coming kingdom will indeed be a "new" age, but the destruction will not be as complete as the imagery suggests.

B. The War Scroll

In this document we find the same intenseness of expression regarding the final days. The scroll does not specifically mention how the world is to be destroyed. That the battle will be supernatural as well as physical is made clear. But the main portion is taken up with the disposition of troops, the choice of weapons, and the inscriptions on the trumpets and armor that would be used in the final Armageddon scene. There is however one passage which hints at the pouring out of fire. In 1QM 11:17 we read of "judgments against Gog and against all his congregation, the ones assembled against you (cf. Ezek. 38:7) . . . for Thou shalt fight against them from the heavens". The author in many places draws upon the Gog prophecy of Ezekiel, and perhaps there is a reference here to Ezekiel 38:22, where God promises to "rain upon" Gog and his hordes "torrential rains and hailstones, fire and brimstone".

Elsewhere the author claims that every evil person, in fact evil itself, will be destroyed in the last days.

It is the time of salvation for the people of God, and the time of ruling for all the men of His lot, but (the time of) eternal destruction for all the lot of Belial . . . in order to bring wickedness low without remnant, for there shall be no deliverance for all the sons of darkness (1QM 1:5ff.).

The inscription on the "flag of the thousand" in 4:1,2 is, "The wrath of God in fury upon Belial and on all the men of his lot without remnant".⁴³ When the author writes לאִי ׀ שאִרית, "without remnant", he writes with finality. Yet is there such an end of things as the words would lead us to believe? It appears that as in 1QH the writer is merely expressing himself in the common hyperbolic way, for although the promise in 14:7 is that "all wicked nations shall be consumed", in 12:13b-15 we read,

O Zion, rejoice abundantly,
And appear with shouts of joy, O Jerusalem,
And exult all cities of Judah.
Open [thy] gat[es] continually to bring unto
thee the wealth of nations.
And their kings shall serve thee,
And the dust of . . . my people.
Cry with a voice of jubilation,
Deck yourselves with glorious adornments.

"Complete destruction", yet still there are kings and

43. Cf. 14:5, "the assembly of nations He has gathered to destroy without remnant"; 9:5,6, "to destroy the enemy in the war of God for eternal destruction"; 13:11, "Thou hast made Belial for destruction"; 13:15,16, "to bring destruction on guilt, to bring darkness low . . . to destroy all sons of darkness".

oppressors, "wicked nations", left to pay homage to the glorified Israel. The Hebrew will have his vindication, and it will be in the eyes of his enemies.

C. The Zadokite Fragments

The Fragments are unique to the Scrolls in that the Day of Jahweh or the eschaton is apparently limited to Israel and Judah. At least the emphasis, as in Amos and Isaiah, lies in the fact that the unrighteous of Israel will be the sufferers on that great Day. CD 20:34 does say, "(the righteous) shall overcome all the sons of the world", and there is mention elsewhere of the "sceptre" and the "Messiah of Aaron and Israel", but the dominion of Israel over the world is to be expected in any Hebrew eschatological thought. This however is in the background in CD. Even in 19:5,6, where it says that God "shall visit the earth", the reference is to the destruction of the Israelites who "despise the commandments and the ordinances". The author, playing the role of an eighth-century prophet, is mainly interested in denouncing any popular hope that the eschaton would mean good times for Israel. The people of God had sinned, and therefore Jahweh was going to punish them by the hand of the nations. The specific raison d'être was disobedience to the Law:

And they did each man what was right in his eyes, and chose each man the stubbornness of his own heart . . . their wine is the poison of serpents and the cruel head of asps. The serpents are the kings of the nations, and their wine is their ways, and the head of the asps is the chief of the kings of the Greeks⁴⁴ who has come to take vengeance upon them (8:8-12).

(Israel backslid) by removing the landmark which the forefathers had set up in their inheritance in order to cause the curses of His covenant to cleave to them (1:16,17).

The foreign ruler was bringing the promised curses for disobedience to the covenant.⁴⁵

This period of suffering and destruction among Israel is called literally the יְמֵי זֶעַם, "epoch of wrath" (CD 1:5), or simply the "epoch" when God would vent His anger on Israel.⁴⁶ Thus CD 20:14-17 says,

And from the day that the unique teacher was gathered in until the consuming of all the men of war who returned with the man of untruth is about forty years. And in that epoch the wrath of God will be kindled against Israel, as He said, 'There will be no king and no ruler and no judge and no one to reprove in righteousness'.⁴⁷

44. W.E.Barnes (reviewing S.Schechter's Documents of Jewish Sectaries in JTS XII, 1911, p.303) reads "the venom (זַרְחָ) of asps is the venom (זַרְחָ) of the kings of Javan".

45. Cf. Deut. 28:47ff.

46. The meaning of זֶמַן as "period" or "epoch" is well-known since the publication of the Scrolls; cf. further CD 4:5,9,10; 5:20; 7:21; 19:10; 20:15,23; also W.H.Brownlee, "Further Light on Habakkuk", BASOR 114, 1949, p.10; E.L.Sukenik, Megillot Genuzot, I (Jerusalem, Bialik, 1948), p.22; Ch.Rabin, op. cit., pp.2,3, note 5.2; L.Ginzberg, Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte, I, pp.39,40.

47. Cf. Hosea 3:4.

The familiar themes of "fire" and "no remnant or survivor of them" are met once again in this document, but here the reference is limited to the unfaithful Israelites.

Longsuffering is with Him and much forgiving to forgive those that turn from wickedness, but power and might and great wrath with flames of fire by the hand of⁴⁸ all angels of destruction⁴⁹ against them that backslide from the way and those that despise the ordinance, so that there shall be no remnant or survivor of them (2:5-7).

And such shall be the judgment of all those who enter His covenant that do not hold fast to the oath⁵⁰ (they shall be) visited for destruction by the hand of Belial. That is the day when God shall visit (8:1-3).

It is interesting to notice in the latter passage that the judgment on Israel comes "by the hand of Belial". This is the "visitation" on the backsliders from God's covenant. In the prophets it was the Scythians, or the Babylonians, or the Assyrians who were God's agents. But now the supernatural, spiritual aspect of the last days is stressed by

48. יא, abbreviation or haplography for ייא; cf. 1QS 4:12.

49. The לנן יאכלן are familiar figures in the Rabbinic literature as the agents of God in the destruction of the world, and also the punishment of the inhabitants of Gehenna; cf. I Enoch 53:1ff.; 56:1-4; 63:1ff.; 66:1. The form is usually לנן יאכלן in Midrashic-Talmudic literature; the lack of the he in CD is due, as L. Ginzberg suggests (Une unbekante jüdische Sekte, I, p.10), to the common omission of the feminine he in the scroll.

50. יאכלן; reading with M. Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p.355.

the appearance of the personified Belial. God was in charge of the world, and was using even the forces of wickedness for His own purposes.

So the familiar prophetic eschatological motifs are present in the Zadokite Fragments. The eschaton would be a time of fire in which all the wicked of Israel would be consumed. There would be great supernatural disturbances. The enemy nations would be God's agents in punishment. The fate of these nations is not discussed; at least they are of small import to the writer. Thus we have a continuation of the Day of Jahweh as found in Amos and Isaiah. Because of this it seems best once again to understand the final destruction as lacking in the finality that the imagery suggests. The wicked would be "visited for destruction", but the author is only expressing his hatred of sin in the most severe terms.

D. The Habakkuk Commentary

Like the later prophets the author of the Habakkuk Commentary sees the eschaton as involving the whole world, though his chief concern, in the manner of the Zadokite Fragments, is the judgment coming on Israel. However the punishment is due primarily to the persecution of the righteous, while in CD it is because of disobedience to the Law. The author takes care to stress the fact that God does not allow the continual

degradation of His faithful people; He will vindicate the righteous. Indeed the writer saw in the historical events of his day the fulfillment of what he had expected ---the judgment on wicked Israel. The foreigner had invaded the land and was heaping great suffering on Israel. This is not to say that this oppressor had necessarily just conquered the land. He may have been ruling the country for some time, but only now was Israel feeling the real weight of his boot. They had for some reason incurred his wrath. The sect, living in exile in the desert, interpreted all these events as the work of God. The Kittim were His specific agents of destruction.

'He laughs at every fortress, and heaps up earth and captures it' (Hab. 1:10b). This means the rulers of the Kittim who despise the fortresses of the peoples, and with mockery laugh at them, and with a multitude of people they surround them to seize them, and in terror and dread they are delivered into their hands; and they overthrow them because of the iniquity⁵¹ of those who dwell in them.⁵² (4:4-9)

1QpHab 12:5,6 had "prophesied" that the wicked priest "God shall condemn to destruction because he plotted to destroy the poor". Furthermore 1QpHab 9:8-12 proclaims,

51. נִיִּיִּי נִיִּיִּי; W.H.Brownlee, "The Jerusalem Habakkuk Scroll", BASOR 112, 1948, p.11 reads, "who reduce to ruins", but one would not expect the Aramaic נִיִּיִּי (waw for yodh), "ruins", in this context.

52. Following the translation of M.Burrows, op. cit., p.366.

'Because of the blood of men and violence to the earth, to the city and a 11 who dwell in it' (Hab. 2:8b). This means the wicked priest whom, because of [an offence]⁵³ (against) the Teacher of Righteousness and the men of his council, God gave into the hands of his enemies, afflicting him with a destroying scourge, in bitterness of soul, because he had acted wickedly against His chosen.⁵⁴

Only in three passages does the writer broaden his point of view, and center his attention on the world-wide consequences of the eschaton.

'For judgment Thou hast appointed him, and O Rock, Thou hast established him to chastize him. Too pure of eyes (art Thou) to look upon evil, and to gaze upon wrong Thou art not able' (Hab. 1:12). This saying means that God will not destroy His people by the hand of the nations, but into the hand of His chosen God will give the judgment of all the nations. (5:1-4)

'What profits a graven image, when he who forms it has graven it? A molten image and teacher⁵⁵ of falsehood. For he who forms it trusts what he has formed, making dumb idols' (Hab. 2:18). This saying concerns all the graven images of the nations, who formed them to worship them and to bow down to them, but they will not deliver them on the day of judgment. (12:10-14)

'Let all the earth keep silence before Him' (Hab. 2:20). This means all the nations who worship stone and wood; and in the day of judgment God will destroy all the worshippers of idols and the wicked from the earth. (13:1-4)

53. בְּעוֹלָתוֹ.

54. Cf. 1QpHab. 9:3-7.

55. מְרַחֵם (ו) מְרַחֵם, with interchange of yodh and he, as elsewhere in the Scrolls; cf. מְרַחֵם for מְרַחֵם, 1QpM 6 (D. Barthélemy and J.T. Milik, op. cit., p.78); מְרַחֵם for מְרַחֵם, 1QpHab 10:2.

The apocalyptic imagery of fire and brimstone is missing in these passages, but there is no doubt about the final nature of the last days---"God will destroy all the worshippers of idols and the wicked from the earth". There will be a complete purging of the land. All evil-doers will be consumed.

The Habakkuk Commentary has no further details regarding the eschaton. This is in line with the purpose of the author. His aim is to see in the text of Habakkuk the cause of the troubles plaguing Israel during his day. He found the answer---the persecution of the righteous remnant. The Gentiles were executing (or had executed) God's judgment on the wicked nation of Israel. They were His instruments in purifying His people. The outcome of the final scene, of the eschaton itself, would be the destruction of all the wicked from off the face of the earth. A new age would emerge to be enjoyed by the chosen of God. Yet we must realize that here, as in Zephaniah and elsewhere, there would undoubtedly be nations left to serve the purified Israel, though whether these nations would be converted is left unsaid. The author writes with intensity because of his hatred of sin. God is going to annihilate the unrighteous. But the Hebrew has always thought this way.

E. The Manual of Discipline

This scroll does not give much space to the description of the eschaton. Its main burden is to outline the causes for evil in the world, and to speak of its coming destruction. The spiritual implications are the author's concern. He is clear that God's visitation will mean the end of evil itself, not just the destruction of enemy nations.

God, in the mysteries of His understanding and in His glorious wisdom, has appointed a period for the existence of evil, but at the season of visitation He will destroy it forever. (4:18,19)

In like manner to that of the rest of the Scrolls the effect of the eschaton on the unrighteous is described in unequivocal terms.

(The wicked) raise up anger unto judgment and unto the exacting of vengeance by the curses of the covenant,⁵⁶ bringing upon themselves great judgments to eternal destruction without remnant. (5:12,13)

For vain are all those who do not know His covenant, and all those who despise His word He will destroy from the world, and all their works are impurity before Him, and uncleanness is in all their wealth.⁵⁷ (5:19,20)

The visitation of all who walk by (the spirit of perversion) consists in an abundance of afflictions⁵⁸ by the hand of all angels of destruction⁵⁹ to eternal

56. Cf. 1QS 2:12,16; CD 1:17; 15:2; appendix A, p.26.

57. Cf. 1QS 4:14.

58. מ'י'י'י; perhaps read as "plagues", with W.H. Brownlee, BASOR 112, 1948, p.16; cf. Jubilees 36:10.

59. Cf. supra, p.97, note 49.

ruin in the furious anger of the God of vengeance, to eternal trembling and everlasting dishonor, with the shame of destruction in the fire of dark places;⁶⁰ and all their periods to their generations will be in grievous mourning and bitter calamity, in dark disasters,⁶¹ until their destruction without remnant or any who escape.⁶² (4:11-14)

Violent days were ahead for the unrighteous, "dark disasters" were in store, "an abundance of afflictions". Wickedness would at last be punished and righteousness honored. But the fact that the author is not speaking of the destruction of the world and of the entrance into the heavenly sphere is made clear in the context of 4:20ff. The world would be purified, and the chosen would enter the Messianic kingdom. It is of this that the author is speaking, and nowhere else does he describe any other form of future existence.

What then is the nature of the eschaton that is depicted in the Scrolls? There are two types of expectation---the better age and the new age. The former evolves out of

60. The "fire" in this passage is not that of the judgment day, but rather that of Gehenna; for the association of fire with darkness, cf. chapter V, p.183f.

61. twm mwna; reading with M.Burrows, op. cit., p.375.

62. 1QS 2:15 may also indicate a fiery destruction of the world, "God's anger will burn against him for eternal destruction"; cf. Isa. 66:15,16.

history; the latter breaks into history and changes the quality of life. 1QSa and 1QSh retain the ancient Hebrew belief in the final dominion of Israel over the Gentiles, the hope merely of a better age. The rest of the Scrolls however speak of a violent intrusion into the historical scene, of the complete annihilation of the wicked, both Jew and Gentile. It is the end of life as it has been known, the beginning of a new age. In most of these latter scrolls the destruction and purification will come by fire and great upheavals of nature. Yet in the final analysis we saw that we must temper our understanding of these things by the realization that the writers are using hyperbole. The banishment of evil, in the manner of Zechariah and Malachi, would probably extend only to the land of Israel. The destruction of the wicked, though fearsome to behold, would not leave righteous Israel without her servants. The Scrolls are still in the thought of the Old Testament, they are continuing the emphasis of the prophets. The Day of Jahweh would mean joy and gladness for only one group--- the righteous remnant. Therefore it is important to realize that we are nowhere given any indication of two eschata. In each of the Scrolls where the destruction of evil and the completion of the age is taught, these things always take place between the present age and the days of the Messiah. Never is a final separation of the righteous and

unrighteous described. Thus we must keep this in mind when we read Hippolytus' statement that the Essenes believed in a final "conflagration of the all" (Refutation of all Heresies, 9:27). Quite probably this must be taken in the symbolic sense of the language in the Qumran Scrolls.⁶³ The imagery is severe, but it is no more so than that used by the prophets. There is no indication given of two times of judgment separated by the Messianic rule. There is no final and complete destruction of the world. This will become clearer in the discussion of the extent and nature of the Messianic kingdom (chapter VII), and of the sect's concept of immortality (chapter VIII).

63. Cf. appendix C, pp. 53-58 for further discussion of the comparison between Hippolytus and the Scrolls.

CHAPTER IV

THE PLACE OF THE RIGHTEOUS

The history of the Hebrew people in Old Testament times is more often than not concerned with struggle and warfare. From the day they crossed the Jordan to conquer Canaan, or even as far back as Abraham, peace was a precarious possession they never held for long. Living as they did at the crossroads of the world, the Hebrews continually faced the threat of invasion. Their roll of honor is crowded with the names of warriors---Joshua, Barak, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, Saul, David. Yet it is noteworthy that not only when eschatology began to emerge and an eschaton was part of their thought, but even in the pre-eighth century Day of Jahweh concept, God's people are definitely in the background in the final destruction of the enemy. In fact any reference to them is rare.¹ The end is viewed as a supernatural intervention of God. As S.R.Driver notes, "The conception places out of sight the human agents, by whom actually the judgment, as a rule, is effected, and regards the decisive movements of history as the exclusive manifestation of Jehovah's purpose

1. Zech. 9:11-15; 10:5; 12:6-8; Micah 4:13; Isa. 41:12-15; Mal. 4:3; Psa. 149:5-9; perhaps also inherent in the "sceptre" of Num. 24 and the "rod" of Isaiah 11.

and power".² Nature would erupt in plagues of locusts, or earthquakes, or searing destruction, or the darkening of the heavenly bodies.³ Jeremiah pictures the Lord as a lion ravaging kings and peoples (25:32-38). The crushing of the Gentile nations in Micah 1:2-4, as elsewhere in the prophets,⁴ is accomplished without the intervention of the Messiah. Jahweh Himself descends from heaven to stamp out the enemy. This supernatural view of the end is not surprising. The Hebrews were the people of God, and He did not need human help. To Him the nations were as chaff before the wind.

Even in the extra-canonical literature this emphasis of the Old Testament is present. I Enoch alone stresses the fact that the righteous will wield the sword against the wicked.⁵

We have seen that in the Old Testament the primary emphasis of the prophetic Day of Jahweh is the judgment of

2. S.R.Driver, The Books of Joel and Amos with Introduction and Notes (CBSC. Cambridge: University Press, 1901), p.185.

3. Joel 1:4; 4:15,16; Isa. 13:10-17; 34:8ff.

4. Isa. 29:1-8; Ezek. 38,39; Joel 4; Obad. 16-18; Zeph. 2:5ff.; Zech. 9:1-8; 14:12-15.

5. I Enoch 50:2; 90:19; 91:12; 95:7; 96:1; 98:12; cf. also Psa.Sol. 17:27,28; II Bar. 70:7-10; 72:2; IV Ezra 13:5; Test.Levi 18:12; Test.Ruben 6:12; Sib.Ora. 5:108; Rev. 20:8.

God on His own people at the hands of the enemy nations. Though some of the prophets also gave the Day a universal scope, they were especially concerned to correct the popular idea that it would be a good time for all of Israel. The great drama at the end of the age was divided into two phases. The first would see the condition of the Hebrew people growing worse and worse. Persecution and suffering would be rampant. Finally when all would seem lost the second phase would begin---the intervention of God for the salvation of Israel. However this appearance of God on the earthly scene would not be for the sake of all of Israel. Only the righteous would be saved. This of course is one of the dominant themes in the prophets. Salvation depends upon repentance and upon God's grace for His chosen people. So the promise of God in Zephaniah 3:11,12 is that in the Day when He will pour out the heat of His anger on the nations, "I will leave in the midst of you a people humble and lowly. They shall seek refuge in the name of the Lord".⁶

It is important to keep this two-fold distinction in mind, for the place of the righteous would be different in both. In the first the righteous would suffer, although

6. Cf. Mal. 3:17; Isa. 10:20,21; 11:12; 26:20,21; Ezek. 39:27; Deut. 30:3; Psa. Sol. 8:34; 11:3; 17:19,28; Ben Sira 36:11; 48:10; Jubilees 17:28-31; Apoc. Abraham 31; IV Ezra 13:13; Tobit 13:13; II Bar. 77:6; 78:7; I Bar. 4:37; 5:5.

as some of the later writers saw, there would be a special significance to their suffering.⁷ During the second phase they would rise up to do battle with the enemy nations. We saw that this second element is very subdued in the Old Testament, but quite probably it lay in the background of their thoughts. The final destruction of the Gentiles would indeed be a work of God, and to Him was all the glory given. But the glimpses that we catch of Israel's part in the last war, such as in Zechariah and Micah, plus the hope of a Davidic "rod" and "sceptre", are strong indications that their part in the second phase was never far from their thoughts. Israel would be vindicated in the eyes of her enemies.

Vindication has always been a strong part of the Hebrew's hope. The Psalmist longed that the avenging of the outpoured blood of Jahweh's servants "be known among the nations before our eyes" (79:10). Job looked for a vindicator who would "stand upon the earth" (19:25). Ezekiel says that God would gather the exiles and through them vindicate His holiness "in the sight of many nations" (39:27).⁸

7. Cf. Isa. 52, 53; Zech. 13; Mal. 3; Dan. 11:33-35; cf. also Wis. Sol. 3:1ff. where encouragement is given to the persecuted righteous by the promise that in the next world they would be rewarded.

8. Cf. 38:23; 1QM 11:15.

Vindication was integral to their thought. They dreamed of the time when they would turn the tables on their oppressors. It was this strong hope of vindication on earth which led to the apocalypticist's doctrine of bodily resurrection, but I will reserve discussion of that until chapter VI.

Daniel gives a good example of this two-fold view of the end. Chapter 11:29ff. speaks of the time when the continual burnt offering would be taken away and the Temple profaned. This he saw as the beginning of the end, in fact, God's judgment on Israel. During this time the righteous would suffer and some would die (11:33-35). However following this, during a period he calls the *yp ny*, "there shall be a time of trouble such as never has been since there was a nation until that time, but at that time your people shall be delivered, everyone whose name shall be found written in the book" (12:1). There is nothing definite about Israel's part in the final war, but the over-all picture is clear. First suffering, then vindication. The elect would be spared during the destruction of the world to enter into the new age.

In the last chapter we noticed that the prophetic concept of the finality of the Day of Jahweh is continued in the Scrolls. So also the place of the righteous in the final days is viewed in the Old Testament manner. The

righteous would suffer, but they would be vindicated as they rose up under God to conquer the nations. This of course is what one would expect. However what we want to discover here is the significance, if any, that lies behind this double role. First of all, how did they view their suffering? Was it merely something to be endured for the glory of God,⁹ was it seen in the light of Zechariah and Malachi, as a refinement, or was there something deeper? Did they take their cue from the Suffering Servant of Isaiah, and speak of vicarious atonement?¹⁰ And on the other hand, what would be the details of the final vindictory battle? Who would take part? What would be the nature of the conflict? What was God's role?

THE MEANING OF SUFFERING

A. The Psalms of Thanksgiving

In true apocalyptic fashion the Psalms of Thanksgiving appear to have been written during a time of suffering which the authors were convinced was the harbinger of the imminent

9. Cf. bTa'an. 8a; Midr. Tehil. 75:1; bBer. 5a; Gen. R. 92:1; cf. C. Montefiore and H. Lowe, A Rabbinic Anthology (London: Macmillan, 1938), p. 543.

10. A. Dupont-Sommer in particular has espoused this viewpoint; cf. "Les manuscrits de la Mer Morte; leur importance pour l'histoire des religions", Numen II, 1955, pp. 168-180; also the Messiah-Suffering Servant discussion in chapter IX, pp. 312-317; 416-426.

end. The scroll abounds in references to trouble and difficulty.

They overtook me in Egypt¹¹ so that there was
no refuge,

And no
:30 And my adversaries made noise on the harp,
And together with mocking songs is their murmuring,
With a crash and a raging,
Horrors [seized me],¹²
And travailings as pangs of a woman giving birth.
My heart roars within me,
Gloom is my garment,

.
Their form has appeared to me for bitterness,
And the light of my face is dimmed into darkness,
My song is turned to blackness.¹³
And Thou, my God, hast opened a broad place within
my heart,
But they increase distress,
And put a hedge about me with deep darkness,
And I eat the bread of sighing;
My drink is unfailing tears,
For my eyes have wasted away from grief,
And my soul by the bitterness of the day.

.
:35 Agony surrounds me,
And shame is upon (my) face.
(5:29-35)

:25 I said mighty men have encamped against me,
They have surrounded me with all their instruments
of war,
And have hurled down arrows without healing.

11. מִצְרַיִם; J. Baumgarten and M. Mansoor, "Studies in the New Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns) III", JBL LXXV, 1956, p. 111 read "they overtook me in the narrow straits"; cf. Lam. 1:3.

12. Restoring [מִצְרַיִם] with Baumgarten and Mansoor, loc. cit.

13. מִצְרַיִם; reading according to context; cf. Psa. 110:3.

The glittering of a spear with fire that consumes trees,

And as the roaring of many waters is the tumult of their voices,

A shattering downpour to destroy many people.

But as for the snares (they have spread) they will come to nothingness and vanity,

When their waves mount (against me),

And as for me when my heart melts as water,

My soul is strengthened by Thy covenant.

Thou wilt ensnare the feet of those who spread a net for me,

And they will fall into the traps which they have hidden for my soul.¹⁴

My foot stands on a level place,

:30 In the congregations I will bless Thy name.¹⁵
(2:25-30)

I am as a man forsaken,¹⁶

. there is no refuge for me.

. bitterness,

And an incurable pain without relief.

. . . upon me as those who go down to Sheol,

And with the dead ones He searches out my spirit,

For they have brought to the pit [my] li[fe],

:30 My soul faints day and night without rest.

But He shall sprout as a burning fire,

. . . until it shall consume the days.

Thou art bound to destroy strength for times,

And to consume flesh until appointed times.

.

And my soul upon me sinks down to destruction,

For the refuge of my body ceases,

And my heart flows as water,

My flesh melts as wax,

And the refuge of my loins is a terror.

My arm has been broken from its joint,

.

14. Cf. Psa. 9:16,17; 35:8.

15. Cf. Psa. 26:12.

16. Cf. LQH 5:20, "I thank Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast not forsaken an orphan (אִתָּךְ אֶתְּיָתָא)".

And my knees go as water,
 And there is no (strength) to take a step,
 Nor (power) to give sound to my foot.¹⁷
 (8:27-34)

But in the midst of all these expressions of suffering
 another note is sounded---there is meaning behind it all.
 It is God's way of refining His people!

I am comforted concerning the tumult of the people,
 And concerning the uproar of ki/ng/doms,
 In their gathering [together].
 I kn/ow/ that Thou shalt raise up for a little while
 A reviving¹⁸ among Thy people,
 And a remnant among Thy possession.
 And Thou shalt refine them,
 Cleansing (them) from guilt.
 For all their works are in Thy truth,
 And in Thy steadfast love Thou wilt judge them,
 In wealth of mercy and abundance of forgiveness;
 And Thou wilt guide them according to Thy words,
 And according to the uprightness of Thy truth,
 To establish them in Thy counsel for Thy glory.
 (6:8-10)¹⁹

In the distress of my soul Thou hast not forsaken me,
 And my cry hast Thou heard in the bitterness of my
 soul,

And Thou hast judged my grief,
 (And) hast regarded my sigh.
 Thou hast delivered the soul of the afflicted in
 the den of lions

:15 Which sharpened their tongue as a sword.
 But Thou, O my God, hast clamped their teeth shut
 Lest they tear the soul of the afflicted and
 the destitute;
 And their tongue was withdrawn as a sword out of its
 scabbard

17. Cf. also 2:31ff.; 3:7ff.; 4:8ff.; 5:6ff.; 6:22-25;
 7:1-5; 9:3ff.; 10:31-35; 11:19-22; 15:16.

18. למצער מחיה.

19. Cf. 14:3,4; 15:10; 16:10-12.

And in order that Thou mayest act mightily through
 me before the sons of man
 Thou hast wrought marvels with a poor one,
 And hast put him into a crucible /for refining go/ld
 by the work of fire,
 And as silver is refined in the furnace of the
 smelters,
 In order to cleanse (him) seven-fold.²⁰
 And the fierce wicked have rushed upon me with
 their torment,
 And all the day do they oppress my soul,
 But Thou, O my God, dost restore a stormy soul
 to calm,
 And the soul of the poor Thou hast delivered like . . .
 . . . prey from the power of lions.
 Blessed art Thou.

The author of the Hodayot is seeking an answer to the
 question of why the righteous are suffering, and he finds it
 in the fulfillment of Zechariah 13:9,

And I (God) will put (the remnant) into the
 fire,
 And refine them as one refines silver,
 And test them as gold is tested.

Persecution and suffering are God's means of making the
 faithful fit for the coming kingdom. Take heart, the author
 implies, for out of this "valley of deep darkness" we shall
 emerge as better men, refined men.

There is however a further aspect to the problem. It
 seems that the author of various passages identifies himself
 with Isaiah's Suffering Servant. At least there is a close
 similarity in language, and it raises the question as to

20. Cf. 1QHfrag 18:4, "those who are purified by the
 refining furnace"; 1QH 15:16, "to open all the distress of
 (man's) soul for everlasting salvation and eternal peace".

whether or not the author saw himself as a vicarious sacrifice for sin. Let us examine these so-called "Servant" passages. (1) The clearest is 9:6-36.

And as for me, from burden to burden,
 And from pains to wounds,
 From travailings to birth-pangs,
 My soul is bowed low in Thy wonderful deeds.
 But Thou dost not desert me in Thy steadfast-love,
 From time to time my soul takes pleasure in the
 abundance of Thy mercies.
 And I shall reply to the devourers of words,
 And to those who brought me low, a reproof.
 I shall condemn its judgment,
 And Thy sentence I will declare righteous,
 :10 For I have learned about Thy truth,
 And I chose my judgment,
 And in my stripes I took delight,
 For I have waited for Thy steadfast-love.
 And Thou dost give supplication in the mouth
 of Thy servant,
 And Thou hast not rebuked my life,
 And my salvation Thou hast not spurned.
 Thou hast not forsaken my hope,
 And before stripes Thou hast caused my spirit
 to stand,
 For Thou hast established my spirit,
 And Thou dost know my purpose,
 And in my distress Thou hast comforted me,
 And in forgiveness I delight,
 And I am comforted on behalf of²¹ the former
 transgression,
 And I know that there is hope in Thy steadfast-love,
 And confidence in the greatness of Thy might.
 :15 For there is no one righteous by Thy judgments,
 And no one [just] in Thy controversy.
 Mankind is not justified by mankind,
 Nor does a man [by a man] prosper.
 Flesh is not honored by a creature [of flesh],
 Nor is a spirit greater than a spirit.
 And as Thy might^t there is no one in might,
 And (as compared) with Thy glory there is no one
 [in glory].

21. Or "repent because of"; by repentance.

To Thy wisdom there is no measure

• • • • •
For everyone forsaken a portion . . .

:20

• • • • •
For Thou, O my God . . .

Thou hast conducted my controversy,
For in the mystery of Thy steadfast-love Thou
hast judged me,

And Thou hast hidden truth for a ti/me,

And concealed understanding until²² its appointed
time.

Thy reproof is to me for a rejoicing and gladness,²³

And my stripes are for ev/erlasting/healing,

And for eternal peace,²⁴

And the despising of my adversaries (is) for me
a crown of glory,

And my weakness for eternal strength.

• • • • •
And by Thy glory my light has shined,

For a lamp in the darkness Thou hast caused (it)
to shine.²⁵

:30

• • • • •
For Thou from my father hast known me,

And from . . . my mother Thou hast dealt bountifully
with me,

And from my breast I conceived Thy mercies,

And in the bosom I have trusted . . .

And from my youth Thou hast appeared to me in Thy
just wisdom,

And by established truth Thou hast supported me,

And by Thy Holy Spirit Thou dost delight me,

• • • • •
And the guarding of Thy salvation to rescue my soul,

And with my steps is a multitude of forgiveness,

An abundance of mercies is in Thy judgment with me,

Unto old age wilt Thou support me,

22. לק וחסרתה בינה למועדו .

23. Cf. also line 10 above, "in my stripes I took de-
light"; II Cor. 12:5, "on my own behalf I will not glory,
except in mine infirmities".

24. למרפא עולם ולשלום נצח .

25. Cf. Isa. 58:8; 60:1.

:35 For my father does not know me,
 And my mother has deserted me to Thee,
 For Thou art a father to all [sons of] Thy truth,
 And Thou dost rejoice over them
 As a compassionate one unto a sucking child,
 And as a nurse in the bosom Thou wilt nourish
 all Thy works.
 (9:6-36)

The interpretation of the Servant of the Lord in Isaiah 40-55 is fraught with many problems into which we cannot delve at length.²⁶ In many passages the Servant is clearly identified with Israel. God Himself states in Isaiah 41:18, "But you, Israel, My servant", and in 49:3, "You are My servant, Israel, in whom I will be glorified". Yet in chapters 52 and 53 the Servant appears to be narrowed down to one individual who provides atonement for all the people. Many have interpreted this figure as a collective representation of Israel as a whole. So Ch.Guignebert writes,

On the whole the critics are agreed in viewing this Ebed-Jahweh as a personification of the chosen people, Israel, and in taking the following chapters as an account of the trials of the Jewish nation at the hands of the 'goyim', who enjoy their brief hour of triumph, till the repentance of the Exiles prepares the way for the New Covenant (lix) and the victorious establishment of the New Jerusalem (lx).²⁷

26. Cf. the excellent study by C.R.North, The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah. An Historical and Critical Study (Second edition; London: Oxford, 1956).

27. Ch.Guignebert, The Jewish World in the Time of Jesus (London: Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1939), p.146; cf. C.R.North, op. cit., pp.17-20; 28-39; 57-64; 103-116.

H.L.Ginsberg sees a somewhat different collective interpretation reflected in the book of Daniel.²⁸ He notes that the "enlighteners" (מְאִירֵי הַנֶּפֶשׁ) of Daniel 11:33-12:10 are accorded in 12:3 as "justifiers of the Many", a phrase taken from Isaiah 53:11. Ginsberg believes that the author of Daniel 11-12 had identified the Servant of Isaiah 52:13-53:12 with the maskilim of his day. He further claims that the author has identified the Many of Isaiah with the masses in the time of the Antiochan persecution, and the Servant with the minority of steadfast anti-Hellenizers. In other words, the Servant is seen as a group of pious people within Israel.

On the other hand the description has often been understood as a reference to a unique individual in the history of Israel. The teaching of the New Testament (Matt. 8:17; 12:17-21) is that Isaiah was speaking of the Messiah.²⁹ This of course is a typical New Testament exegesis of an Old Testament passage, and it need not have carried that same meaning to the people of Isaiah's day. Indeed it appears that it did not, nor to the people in

28. H.L.Ginsberg, "The Oldest Interpretation of the Suffering Servant", VI III, 1953, pp.400-404; cf. C.R.North, op. cit., pp.6,7.

29. Cf. C.R.North, op. cit., pp.11-17; 42-46; 64-68; 90-99 for further Messianic interpretations.

Jesus' time, else there would not have been the perplexity over Jesus' doctrine of a dying Messiah. Therefore, retaining the individual interpretation, H.H.Rowley suggests,

In general, I believe the author was personifying Israel, but in the fourth poem that personification is carried to a point where it is hard to escape the feeling that he really thought of an individual, so supremely the Servant of Yahweh that within the Servant community He stood out as its representative and leader, carrying its mission of service to a point no other should reach.³⁰

Basically then there are two interpretations of the Servant in Isaiah 52 and 53---a collective figure or a unique individual. The question is, Do we find either of these Servant types in the Hodayot?

In the passage just quoted (9:6-36) there is no mistaking the phrase "my stripes are for everlasting healing". However, and this is important, though the language is undoubtedly Isaianic, we must be careful not to equate the teaching. Notice that there is nothing substitutionary about the author's suffering. He is speaking simply about his own salvation. The passage refers to the refining spoken of in 1QH 5,6, Zechariah 13, and Malachi 3, the individual healing of 1QS 4:6,³¹ and the purging that brings

30. H.H.Rowley, The Relevance of Apocalyptic (Second edition; London: Lutterworth, 1947), p.33, note 1. This individual has been identified with such as Jeremiah, Hezekiah, Josiah, Job, Isaiah, Uzziah, Zerubbabel, Eleazar, Moses, Ezekiel, etc.; cf. C.R.North, op. cit., pp.20-22; 39-42; 47-57; 89-90.

31. Cf. CD 8:4; 12:5.

salvation, found so often in the Rabbinic literature,³² even though the author is using the conceptual framework of Deutero-Isaiah.

1QS 4:6 promises that the visitation upon all the sons of truth who walk by God's Spirit will consist in "healing and abundant peace during length of days". This is exactly what the author of 1QH 9 is saying. God's "reproof", he writes, "is to me for a rejoicing and gladness". "My stripes are for (my own) everlasting healing, and for (my own) eternal peace". "The despising of my adversaries is for me a crown of glory". The merits of his suffering do not extend to others. So in similar fashion we find this concept in Midr.Tehil. 118:18, "Beloved are sufferings, for they appease like offerings; yea, they are more beloved than offerings, for guilt and sin offerings atone only for the particular sin for which they are brought in each case, but sufferings atone for all sins, as it says, 'The Lord has chastened me sore, but He has not given me over unto death' (Psa. 118:18)".

The line "by Thy glory my light has shined" (9:26) reminds us of God's words to the Servant in Isaiah 42:6, "I have given you as a covenant to the people, a light

32. Cf. Midr.Tehil. 73:1; Cant.R. 2:1,3; also C.Montefiore and H.Lowe, op. cit., pp.544-546.

to the nations", and also of the LXX variant of Isaiah 53:11, δεδίξαι αὐτῷ φῶς.³³ 1QH 4:27 also says, "by me Thou hast caused the face of many to shine". M.Black suggests that this reflects an Isaianic Servant conception in the Hodayot.³⁴ However the explanation of all this is given in the blessing on the priests in 1QSb 4:27, "and He will place you as holiness among His people, and for a [great] lamp [to shine]³⁵ to the world in knowledge, and to illumine the face of many". The meaning of "shining" in 1QH is that many have found salvation through the author, but there is no reference to any suffering that brings this about. As in Daniel 12:2 it is "wisdom" or "knowledge" that assures a person's security before God (cf. CD 20:17,18).

(2) 1QH 8:27 says, "I am as a man forsaken (אני כעבד נזקק)", a parallel with the description of the Servant as "despised and forsaken of men" (אשר נזקק ונזקק; Isa. 53:3). It is an individual "I", yet the fact that he is merely one out of many passing through the same experience is indicated

33. This is also reflected in 1QIsa^a and 1QIsb^b 53:11; cf. the discussion in chapter VI, pp.207-209.

34. M.Black, "The Theology of the Damascus New Covenant", Unpublished lecture delivered at Union Theological Seminary, New York, May, 1956; he also links the phrase "Thou dost give supplication in the mouth of Thy servant" (9:10,11) with Isa. 53:12, "and he bare the sin of many and made intercession for the transgressors", but this is dubious.

35. למאור [גדול לאור].

by 1QH 9:18, "for everyone forsaken (לְכָל בְּרִיָּה) a portion" Thus it is in this light that we must interpret the many other places in 1QH where the "servant" speaks in the first person. 1QH 13:18,19 says, "I, Thy servant, know the spirit which Thou hast put within me", and 17:26 reads, "Thou hast shed [Thy] Holy Spirit upon Thy servant".³⁶ The author naturally writes "I", for he is the person in question, but he does not claim to be the only "I".

(3) In a very fragmentary section there is perhaps another direct reference to the work of the Servant, but it is difficult to judge. 1QHfrag 2:8-13 reads,

And on behalf of the children Thou dost test me . . .
 to [re]fine me.³⁷
 And upon dust Thou hast sprinkled [Thy Holy] Spirit,
 upon mud . . .
 And there will be no return of darkness . . .
 For . . . a lamp Thou hast revealed . . .
 Thy Ho[ly] Spirit Thou hast sprinkled to atone
 for guilt.

Once again we must notice that the "testing" accomplishes the author's own salvation, for in the fragmentary phrase we read that the purpose is "to refine me". Perhaps the author is a maskil, and so God refines him "on behalf of the children", so that he might be a perfect channel of

36. Cf. 5:15; 7:6,7; 14:25; 16:10; etc.

37. לְכָל בְּרִיָּה . . . וְעַל הַבְּנִיִּים מְחַמְּדִים; perhaps better read as parts of two sentences, " . . . and upon the children. Thou dost test me . . . to refine me"; cf. Ex.20:5.

His will.

(4) M.Black has suggested that the Teacher of Righteousness is in view as the Servant in three passages where the author likens or identifies himself with a 7777, "fountain".³⁸

(a) My heart has been opened to an everlasting fountain,
And my support is in a high refuge. (10:31,32)

(b) As for me, there has been opened for me a fountain of bitter travail

.....
There has not been hidden toil from my eyes.

.....
They enter into my heart,
And they smite my bones.

.....
Make Thou glad the soul of Thy servant with Thy truth,
And cleanse me by Thy righteousness,
According as I wait for Thy goodness,
And hope for Thy steadfast-love.
And because of Thy forgiveness Thou hast loosed³⁹ my distress,
And in my agony Thou didst have compassion on me,
For I relied on Thy mercies. (11:19-32)

(c) And I, one from the dust . . .
. . . a fountain of impurity (7777 7777)
And shame of dishonor;
A reservoir of dust,
And from a generation of darkness,
And returning to dust;
A figure of clay. (12:25,26)

M.Black would link these passages with Zochariah 13:1,

38. M.Black, loc. cit.; cf. also J.P.Hyatt, "The View of Man in the Qumran 'Hodayot'", NTS, II, 1956, p.276.

39. Cf. Isa. 58:6 for a similar use of 7777.

"On that day there shall be a fountain opened for the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem to cleanse them from sin and uncleanness", and furthermore, because of the Teacher's death as a martyr, also with Zechariah 12:10, "when they look on him whom they have pierced they shall mourn for him as one mourns for an only child".

However it is to be noticed that not once is it specified that the 77pD is for the cleansing of sin. (a) In 10:31,32, as context clearly shows, the author is not the 77pD, but rather is a recipient of the fountain's blessings. The context speaks of the time of the new age, for we read of "an abundance of grain, new wine, and fresh oil" (cf. Joel 2:19), of a return to the days of "Adam".⁴⁰ Quite possibly the author has Zechariah 13:1 in mind, and the reference is to a heart cleansed from sin, but this is something different than seeing the Suffering Servant in the passage. The author receives cleansing, but does not provide it. (b) In 11:19 the "fountain" is figurative of the outpouring of great suffering on the head of the author, and has nothing to do even with refinement from sin. M. Black, however, sees this suffering explained in 11:32, where he reads, "for forgiveness Thou hast opened up my

40. Cf. chapter VII, p.220 for further discussion of this passage.

wounds, and in my agony Thou hadst compassion on me". The Hebrew is וְלִסְלִיחוֹתֶיךָ פְּחֻתָּה מִשְׁמַרֵּי וְיִגְדֵּל נִחְמָה. But Black's translation is clearly impossible, for the parallel with נִחְמָה shows that נחם refers to the setting free from trouble "because of" God's forgiveness, rather than any expiatory sense of "for forgiveness". (c) M.Black translates 12:25 as "the fountain for uncleanness", but the context patently indicates that the author is speaking about his own sinful condition; he is "a fountain of uncleanness", and there is no Servant reference in mind.

(5) A.Dupont-Sommer has pointed to 1QH 8:4ff. as also depicting the Teacher of Righteousness in the role of the Suffering Servant.⁴¹

I thank Thee, O Lord,
 For Thou hast given me as a flowing fountain on
 the dry land,
 And as a spring of water on the dry earth,
 :5 And (as) waterings of a garden . . .⁴²
 A planting of cypress and acacia,
 Together with the pine for Thy glory.⁴³
 Trees of life by a mysterious spring were hidden⁴⁴

41. A.Dupont-Sommer, "Les manuscrits de la Mer Morte; leur importance pour l'histoire des religions", Numen II, 1955, p.187.

42. Isa. 58:11 speaks of the returning remnant, "you shall be like a watered garden, like a spring of water, whose waters fail not". Cf. however Isa. 44:3 where God promises to "pour water on the thirsty land, and streams on the dry ground; I will pour out My Spirit upon your descendants".

43. Cf. Isa. 41:19; 60:13, both references to restoration days.

44. חֹפְאֵל, Hoph'al m.pl.part.; cf. Isa. 42:22.

In the midst of all the trees of water,⁴⁵
 And they brought forth a shoot⁴⁶ for an eternal
 planting,⁴⁷
 (And) they took root before they sprouted.
 Then they sent their roots to a stream,⁴⁸
 And it opened up living waters to its stem,⁴⁹
 And it became an eternal spring,⁵⁰
 And by the shoot all [the trees of] the forest
 shall feed upon it,⁵¹
 And its stem (became) an object of trampling to
 all who pass by,
 Its branch to every fowl of wing.⁵²

45. The figure of "trees of water" is used in Ezek. 31:14 of sinful Egypt. So here the picture is of the "trees of life" (the faithful) hidden in the midst of the "trees of water" (the unrighteous); cf. II Bar. 36-40.

46. נִצַּח; cf. Isa. 27:6, "In (days) to come Jacob shall take root, Israel shall blossom and put forth shoots, and fill the whole world with fruit"; also 11:1. In this context the "shoot" appears to be the Qumran sect.

47. Cf. 1QS 8:5,6, a reference to the sect as "an eternal planting, a holy house for Israel, a most holy institution for Aaron"; CD 1:7,8; Isa. 60:21.

48. נִצַּח; cf. Jer. 17:8.

49. This awkward phrase appears to have as its antecedent the נִצַּח of line 6. There are then two figures--- the "shoot" and the "stem" or "branch" (line 9). The "stem" seems to be the leader of the sect, perhaps the Teacher of Righteousness. M. Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 411, renders the phrase, "its stump shall be exposed to living water".

50. The "eternal spring" and "mysterious spring" are perhaps veiled references to the Qumran sect's secret doctrines, the נִצַּח that only the full-fledged member could know. When the "shoot" was excluded from the Temple, the sect found their life at this secret "spring".

51. The sect alone has access to the spring of life.

52. In the Old Testament the phrase "fowl of wing" refers to Gentile nations (cf. Ezek. 17:22,23; 31:6; Dan. 4:12), but here it appears to be a description of unrighteous Israel who persecuted and put to death the Teacher of Righteousness.

And all tre[es of] water rose against it,
 For in their planting they go astray,⁵³
 :10 And do not send forth a root unto the stream.⁵⁴
 But the one bringing forth a holy shoot for a
 planting of truth⁵⁵ is hiding (it)
 So that it is not reckoned,
 And sealing its mystery so that it is not known.⁵⁶
 And Thou, O God, hast put a hedge about its fruit⁵⁷
 By the mystery of the mighty ones of strength and
 the holy spirits,
 And a flaming fire turning this way and that,⁵⁸
 So that . . . a spring of life.
 And with the eternal trees it shall not drink
 holy waters,
 Its fruit shall not spring forth with the [burst]ing
 of clouds,⁵⁹
 For it saw without recognizing,
 And it considered without believing in a spring
 of life.⁶⁰

53. לַעֲשׂוֹת, Hithpalpel from לָו, "go astray, err"
 (= לָו). Perhaps this is from a hitherto unknown root לָו,
 "make great" (cf. לָו, "make great"), and so here "grow
 great", especially in view of the parallel "rise against".

54. The stream with living waters, the eternal spring.

55. Cf. 1QS 8:9,10; 5:5,6.

56. The "mystery" is the preceding "stream" of life,
 the secret knowledge of the "shoot".

57. Cf. Job 1:10, הִלָּא נָס נְכֹחַ בְּעֵינַי. The phrase seems to
 refer here to the protection by God of the members of the
 sect, the "fruit" of the "shoot". Cf. 1QM 7:6, "for holy
 angels are together with their hosts".

58. לְהַטְהֵר, misread (or a misprint) by Sukenik, 'Otzar,
ad loc., as לְהַטְהֵר. The similarity to Genesis 3:24 is striking,
 for there God drove out the man from the garden and placed "a
 flaming sword which turned this way and that (לְהַטְהֵר)
 (הַטְהֵר) to guard the way to the tree of life". The "trees
 of life", the "spring of life", are guarded, as in Genesis,
 by angels.

59. עַל שְׁמַיָּם עַל עַל.

60. Cf. Isa. 41:20; CD 20: 25-34.

And it gave . . . eternal.
 :15 And I indeed was as br⁶¹ea⁶¹kings of flowing
 streams,
 For they cast their mud upon me.⁶²
 (8:4-15)

In this highly symbolic passage we are given a general history of the sect. The "shoot", the sect of Qumran, was begun in the midst of the "trees of water", the unrighteous. They found their life at a "mysterious spring", that is, they were given new revelations of God's will by the "stem" or "branch", the leader of the sect. In this we are reminded of CD 6:2-10 and the "well", the Torah, which the sect "dug" by the help of the "Lawgiver", the Teacher of Righteousness. The text of 1QH says that the "branch" became an "object of trampling" to the wicked. This may well be, as Dupont-Sommer maintains, a veiled reference to the Teacher of Righteousness,⁶³ but there is nothing at all to suggest any thought of vicarious suffering. The best that can be said is that here, as elsewhere in the Hodayot, there is undoubtedly Isaianic language. This we have already noticed. But similarity in language to Isaiah should not lead us to posit identity of thought. The text of 1QH 8 is merely giving the turbulent history of the

61. הייתי ל⁶¹ב⁶¹ראי נהרות.

62. Cf. Isa. 57:20.

63. A. Dupont-Sommer, loc. cit.; he also refers to 1QH 8:27, "I am as a man forsaken", but cf. supra, pp. 122, 123.

Qumran group, and the extreme persecution of their leader is part of that story. Both Isaiah and the Hodayot speak of great suffering in the last days, so naturally their expressions will be somewhat the same. But Isaiah is clear in 52 and 53 regarding the nature of that suffering ---it will be a vicarious sacrifice for sin. The author of 1QH 8 nowhere claims the same thing. Suffering, yes, but not sacrifice.⁶⁴

(6) There is one further passage which must be considered in this discussion of the Suffering Servant in the Psalms of Thanksgiving.

Thou hast set up my footsteps within the border
of wickedness,
And I have become a trap⁶⁵ unto rebellious men,
And a healing⁶⁶ unto all that turn from transgression;⁶⁷
Prudence unto the simple,
And a steadfast mind unto all fearful of heart.⁶⁸
:10 And Thou hast made me a reproach and a scorn to
the faithless,⁶⁹

64. Dupont-Sommer sees a Teacher of Righteousness-Suffering Servant-Messiah in 1QH 7, but I will discuss this in chapter IX, pp.357-365.

65. In Isa. 8:14 God says that He will be a "trap and a snare" to the people of Israel; cf. Job 18:9; Psa. 140:6; Isa. 24:17.

66. Cf. Isa. 53:5, "with his stripes we are healed"; 57:17-19; Mal. 3:20.

67. Cf. Isa. 59:20.

68. Cf. Isa. 35:4.

69. Cf. Psa. 31:12; 44:13,14.

A counsel of truth and understanding unto the
 upright of way.
 But I have become, because of the perversity of
 the wicked,
 And evil report on the lip of scoffing oppressors;
 They grind their teeth.
 And I have become a mocking-song⁷⁰ to rebellious men,
 Against me the assembly of wicked doth rage,
 They roar as the gales of the seas in the rush
 of their waves,
 Mire and mud do they cast up.
 But Thou hast made me a sign⁷¹ to the chosen of
 righteousness,
 And an interpreter of knowledge by wonderful
 mysteries,
 To test the men of truth,⁷²
 And to try the lovers of correction.
 And I have become a man of contention unto the
 interpreters of error
 :15 to all who envision right things,
 And I have been a zealous spirit against all who
 seek smoooth things⁷³
And all men of deceit⁷⁴ roar against me,
 As the sound of the multitude of many waters;
 The devices of Belial are all their thoughts.
 And they have turned down to the pit the life of man
 Whose mouth Thou hast established,
 And whom Thou hast instructed;⁷⁵

70. נִינָה; cf. Job 30:9.

71. The word וַיִּשָּׂא is used as a reference to the arising of the Messianic king (Isa. 11:10,12), for signal of war (Isa. 5:26; 11:12; 18:3; 49:22; Jer. 50:2; 51:12), as a means of direction (Isa. 62:10; Psa. 60:6; Jer. 4:6,21), an ordinary signal (Ezek. 27:7), and a warning (Num. 26:10).

72. Cf. 1QH 7:10.

73. Cf. Isa. 30:10; CD 1:18.

74. Cf. 1QS 9:8.

75. Reading וַיִּשָּׂא with Baumgarten and Mansoor, "Studies in the New Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns)-I", JBL LXXIV, 1955, p.124; Sukenik, ʾOtzar, ad loc, has וַיִּשָּׂא.

Understanding Thou hast placed in his heart
 In order to open a spring of knowledge unto all
 who understand.⁷⁶
 But they have exchanged them for the uncircumcized
 lip,
 And (for) another tongue of a people without
 understanding,
 So that they may be ruined by their blunder.
 (2:8-19)

The author considers himself the one who provides "healing" for others, but there is no direct link between this and the oppression of which he speaks further down in the passage. The flavor of the words certainly is Isaianic. The author has brought "healing", he is "a reproach and a scorn", he has opened a "spring of knowledge" to men. But perhaps the author is applying to himself the prophocy in Malachi regarding the second Elijah, for he calls himself a "sign" and an "interpreter of knowledge", and his task is to "test" the men of truth. In chapters 3 and 4 of Malachi we read that in the last days God would send His prophet Elijah to refine or test the sons of Levi (3:3; cf. Zech. 13:9). This prophet would instruct the people in the proper manner of presenting offerings to God (3:3,4). The consequence of his mission would be that "the sun of righteousness will arise with healing in its wings" (3:20).

So the author of 1QH 2:8-19 felt that he was living on the brink of eternity, and saw in his suffering and

76. Isa. 53:11?

office the "signs of the times". He would bring "healing" by the revelation of God's will. But there is no demanding reason why we must understand an individual "I" in this passage. One person, such as the Teacher of Righteousness, may well have been in mind, yet the council of fifteen men,⁷⁷ the maskilim, would just as well fit the description in these lines. Their job, as we know from 1QS 8:1-4, was to instruct, to judge, to test, to guide the men of the sect. So also in 1QSB 3 the same work is given to the priests in general.

It may safely be said that the Hodayot teaches the doctrine of the Suffering Servant, but it is teaching distinct from that of Isaiah. Individual suffering accomplishes individual salvation. Persecution brings refinement. We shall see in a moment that the author(s) of 1QS looked for the whole inner circle of full members, the "council of the community", to be the Servant. This is the way we must interpret the evidence in 1QH. The righteous, by the purging of suffering, are able to become the perfect channels of God's will, to be lights to the world. It is only in this sense that their suffering brings salvation to others.

⁷⁷. Cf. 1QS 8:1; perhaps it is only twelve men, with three of them being priests.

B. The War Scroll

This document is quite clear that the final days would see the righteous suffering and dying. 1QM 16:11 reads,

When Belial has girded himself for the help of the sons of darkness, then the slain of the warriors shall begin to fall in the mysteries of God, and (it shall be) in order to test among all those who are designated for war.

The righteous warriors would "begin to fall" when Belial entered the fray. The question is, Would there be any significance to their death? The author explains the falling of the warriors as a means of testing the rest of the righteous. This is borne out in the two other passages where the matter is discussed.⁷⁸

And He has placed their salvation in the flames of the column of fire, and has made them those who are tested by a furnace (בְּחִרְיָהּ בְּאֵשׁ). (17:1)

And you, the sons of His covenant, be strong in the refining furnace of God (בְּאֵשׁ הַמְּצַרֵּת) until His hand shall swing and shall fill His mysterious refining furnace (בְּאֵשׁ הַמְּצַרֵּת) so that you may stand. (17:8,9)

There is no doubt as to the meaning of suffering. It is in order to refine the individual. The use of מְצַרֵּת and מְצַרֵּת is paralleled in Zechariah 13:9 and Malachi 3:3, and there it is clearly a matter of individual cleansing. The

⁷⁸. Perhaps also 14:18, וְנִשְׂרָף, although שָׂרָף generally carries the idea of "consume, burn", rather than "purify, refine", as does מְצַרֵּת; cf. Jastrow, II, pp.1632,1633.

suffering and testing of the righteous would indeed bring their salvation, for (as in 1QH 6:8) they would then be "cleansed from guilt", but the merits of this purification would not extend to others. In the process of this refinement some would fall and die, but the author can give no reason why this must be so, or whether they would be raised at some future date. He can only throw up his hands and say, "In the mysteries of God"!

C. The Manual of Discipline

Because this scroll is what it is, a manual of discipline, it is concerned primarily with the preparations for the end, and does not stress the details of the eschaton, nor of the age to follow. It wants to make certain that the sect will be ready for the event whenever it comes. The scroll does not even speak much of the suffering of the righteous in the last days, as does 1QH, perhaps because the text was written when persecution was not a problem. However though there is a paucity of references, the author does occasionally express himself on the subject of persecution. In 1:16-18 it says, "All who enter the order of the community shall enter into the covenant in God's presence, to do according to all that He commanded, and not to turn aside from following after Him out of any terror or fright or ordeal when they are tried under the

dominion of Belial". The word "ordeal" is 73D, the same word used in Daniel 11:35, Malachi 3:2, and 1QM 17 where it speaks of "refining" the righteous. In 1QS 7:1 there is a rule which brings exclusion from the community "if he who reads aloud from the book or blesses has blasphemed either through being frightened by persecution or through any reason he may have". It is clear from these verses that the sect viewed persecution as a time of testing, but there is no thought of that suffering bringing atonement for others. It was all an individual matter. There are, however, certain places in 1QS which claim that the sect would provide atonement for the land. 1QS 8:6 calls the members of the sect "the chosen of grace to atone for the land". 1QS 8:9⁷ says "they shall be accepted to make atonement for the land". 1QS 9:4 promises that they shall "make atonement for the guilty rebellions and sinful infidelities and for divine favor for the land". How was this to be accomplished? What did it mean? The answer to these problems depends upon our understanding of the whole context, and to this we must turn first.

The context in question comprises 8:1-9:11. However the author skips from one thought to another so quickly that he renders the interpretation of this section somewhat difficult. There appear to be two strands of thought, or

rather, two different periods of time---the time of the writing of the scroll when the author was near Jerusalem, and the future time of clearing the way of God in the desert and of life in the Messianic kingdom. Therefore this section is to be divided in the following way:

Jerusalem Period

Desert and Messianic Period

8:1-4a

8:4b-10a

8:10b-12a

8:12b-16a

8:16b-9:2

9:3-6

9:7-11

1. Jerusalem period. In the verses which describe the life of the sect near Jerusalem, the fact is made clear that they had broken with the Temple sacrifice. The first passage describes the work of the judges of the sect.

In the council of the community (there shall be)⁷⁹ twelve laymen and three priests who are perfect in all that is revealed of the whole Torah, through practicing truth and righteousness and justice and loving devotion and walking humbly each with his fellow, in order to preserve faithfulness in the land with a steadfast purpose and with a broken spirit, and in order to make amends for guilt by practicing justice and the anguish of the refining furnace, and in order to walk with all in the measure of truth and in the proper reckoning of the time. (8:1-4a)

This special group was given a three-fold work. (a) They were to "preserve faithfulness" among the members of the sect, to oversee the entire life of the community. They

⁷⁹. יְהִי is not in the text; possibly restore at the end of 7:25, לְשֵׁם שְׁמִי.

were to be the arbiters, the judges, the ones who sought to keep the "men of the truth" all walking in obedience. God had promised to bless when His people returned to Him. As God said in Isaiah 56:1, "Keep justice and do righteousness, for soon My salvation will come, and My deliverance be revealed". The judges were to make certain there was no reason for God to delay.

(b) They were to "make amends for guilt by practicing justice and the anguish of the refining furnace (לרצת עוון ולרצת משפט)".⁸⁰ Atonement is not here connected with the Temple. They would procure pardon for their sins by administering justice and having their deeds refined. The description of the men of this group is as "practicers" of justice and the refining furnace. In other words it was to be a constant thing. First of all, they would continually practice justice in their work as judges. The reference would be to the preceding context where there is a long list of rules. There is no tribunal mentioned in that section, so it is logical to assume that these fifteen men were the ones who would decide the execution of these

80. The phrase might be rendered "by (in) those who practice justice and the refining furnace". However I take this as a reference to the fifteen men. Or the both may be read or emended to kaph, "as those who practice justice"; cf. W.H.Brownlee, BASOR 88 10-12, p.31, note 7; M.Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p.381.

regulations. Secondly, they would daily go through the anguish of refinement, and thus this is a figurative reference to refining of character. A refined life is one in which there is distress, where there is a complete change and turnabout of life, a doing away with the old habits. They are known as "practicers", as ones who continually purge out the dross of evil thoughts and deeds, and walk in the way of God. It is this spiritual purging which is described in 8:17,18 where any man who has disobeyed the rules is excluded from the purity and counsel of the sect "until his deeds are purified (ר'צונו רצו') from every kind of perversity that he may walk in perfection of way". 1QS 3:6-8 further affirms this spiritual understanding,

For it is through the spirit of God's true counsel (in regard to) a man's way that all his iniquities will be atoned . . . and through a holy spirit united by His truth that he will be cleansed of all his iniquities.

1QS 4:20,21 tells us that in the Messianic age God will "purge by His truth all the deeds of each man, and will refine for Himself each one among the sons of man". Truth is the agent that purifies and refines. The sect is known as "witnesses of truth" (1QS 8:6) and "sons of righteousness" (1QS 3:20) who are ruled by a "spirit of truth" (1QS 3:18,19). The main purpose of the community was to

live a perfect life, a purged life, where all thoughts and deeds of wickedness had been refined.⁸¹

(c) The fifteen men were to "walk with all in the measure of truth". In other words they were to practice what they preached. If they were to judge and counsel as to God's way, they too had to live that life they wanted others to lead.

The second Jerusalem passage speaks of the ordinary members of the community.

When these (men) have become established in the community for two years time in perfection of way, they shall separate themselves as holy persons⁸² in the midst of the council of the members of the community, and every matter which was hidden from Israel, but which is found by a man who searches (the Torah), let him not hide it from these out of fear of an apostate spirit. (8:10b-12a)⁸³

W.H.Brownlee would understand "these" as a reference to the fifteen men of 8:1.⁸⁴ However the object is probably the

81. Cf. Isa. 52:11, "Purify yourselves, ye who bear the vessels of the Lord"; Hosea 14:1,2, "Return O Israel to the Lord your God, for you have stumbled because of your iniquity. Take with you words and return to the Lord"; Test. Levi 3:6, "the sacrifice in words and without blood".

82. שְׂרִיטֵי הַיָּדָיִם.

83. R. Marcus, "Textual Notes on the Dead Sea Manual of Discipline", JNES XI, 1952, p.209 translates, "and every matter which is hidden from Israel and is found by a man who seeks God, let him hide it from these" He takes לֵאלֹהִים as the noun "God", not the negative. The verse would then warn against disclosing secrets to non-members or to members not fully initiated.

84. W.H.Brownlee, op. cit., p.33, note 24.

members of the community who have completed the period of a novitiate. As we know from 6:16-22 a probationary period of two years was required for anyone who would become a full member. So the idea is that whenever a person joined the Qumran group and lived a "perfect" life for two years, that is, fulfilled the requirements of the novitiate, he would be called "holy", a part of the "sanctuary" of the community, a member of the "council", and be instructed in all the secrets of the sect.⁸⁵ If "these" referred to the fifteen judges, this would make them the "sanctuary", but according to 9:6 the whole group would be this "house of holiness".

The last two Jerusalem passages, 8:16b-9:2 and 9:7-11, describe the life and regulations of the community until the coming of the "prophet" who would lead them into the desert to prepare God's way. These verses continue the rules and penalties of 6:24-7:25 which are designed to keep the men of Qumran walking in "perfection of way".

It is important to keep these Jerusalem passages in mind, for they show that the purpose of each member of the

85. A. Dupont-Sommer, The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes, p.133, note 10 also takes this interpretation. Cf. IQS 8:18, 20, 21, 25-27 and 9:1, 2 for the same conception of "perfection of way" and "two years' time"; also Josephus, Wars, 2:8:7, 10 "to keep nothing hidden from the members of the sect".

sect was continually to purge out evil from his life so that he might be "perfect" or a "holy person". This provides important background for the understanding of the "atonement" work of the sect.

2. Desert and Messianic period. In those passages which speak of the future we notice that as in LQH the sect seemed to believe that they would be the Suffering Servant of Isaiah.

When those things come to pass in Israel, the council of the community will have been established in truth as an eternal planting, a holy house for Israel, a most holy institution for Aaron, witnesses of truth concerning judgment, and the chosen of grace to atone for the land, and to render to the wicked their recompense. That is the tried wall, the costly corner-stone, whose foundations shall not be shaken asunder, nor dislodged from their place. (8:4b-8a)

As M.Black has pointed out,⁸⁶ "the chosen of grace to atone for the land" (8:6) is parallel to Isaiah 42:1, "Behold My servant whom I uphold, My chosen in whom My soul delights"; "witnesses of truth concerning judgment" (8:6) is clearly Isaiah 43:10, "You are My witnesses, says the Lord, and My servant whom I have chosen".⁸⁷ Thus the sect is given

86. M.Black, "Servant of the Lord and Son of Man", SJT VI, 1953, p.8.

87. Perhaps also Isa. 42:1, and thus ~~waww~~ should be translated here "true religion", as is often the interpretation of the passage "he will bring forth ~~waww~~ to the nations"; cf. J. van der Ploeg, "Sāpat et Mispāt", OS II, 1943, p.155; C.R.North, The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah, pp.140,141.

the two-fold work of the Servant---atonement and judgment.

If the Manual of Discipline teaches an identification with the Isaianic Servant, it is to be noticed that the whole sect is considered in that light. It is in other words a "collective" concept. The text says that the "council of the community" will atone for the land and render judgment to the wicked. The "council" is the term which refers to the whole group of full members, and not just to a select part, such as the fifteen men. This is patent from 1QS 6:13-17.

And everyone from Israel who dedicates himself⁸⁸ to be added to the council of the community, the man who is overseer at the head of the Many shall examine him as to his understanding and his deeds, and if he grasps instruction⁸⁹ he shall bring him into the covenant to turn to the truth and to turn away from all perversity, and he shall enlighten him in all the laws of the community. Afterward, when he comes to stand before the Many, all of them shall be asked concerning his affairs, and according as the lot comes forth, in accordance with the counsel of the Many, he will draw near or draw away. And when he draws near to the council of the community he must not touch the purity of the Many until he (the overseer) examines him as to his spirit and his deeds until the completion of a full year.⁹⁰

88. מנצח, "offers himself as a free-will offering".

89. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע הַמֶּלֶךְ; translating according to W.H.Brownlee, BASOR SS 10-12, p.24.

90. Cf. 1QS 8:16-19.

There is nothing unusual in the sect's conception of itself as the Servant of the Lord. However it is important to note that there is nothing said in 1QS about the atoning value of suffering on their part. This whole concept is strangely absent from 1QS. In Isaiah the Servant is one who suffers and dies as an atoning sacrifice. The emphasis lies on the spiritual effects of suffering. In 1QS the stress is on the fact that the sect would be a "sanctuary" from which spiritual sacrifices would be made. Herein lies the difference between the Servant of Isaiah and the Servant of the Manual of Discipline. While the former was only the sacrifice, I believe the latter was to be both sacrifice and sanctuary, and more important, a spiritual sacrifice instead of a physical one. This is the implication of the remaining passages in this section.⁹¹

A most holy abode belongs to Aaron with eternal knowledge⁹² to enact laws⁹³ and to offer up an agreeable odor, and a house of perfection and truth is in Israel to establish a covenant with eternal ordinances. These will be accepted to make atonement for the land, and to decree the condemnation of wickedness that there may be no wrongdoing. (8:8b-10a)

91. 1QS 8:12b-16 is not concerned with the Servant problem, but speaks of going into the wilderness to prepare God's way by a diligent study of the Torah.

92. The text has לְבַרְכָּתָא; emended to לְבַרְכָּתָא with W.H.Brownlee, op. cit., p.33, note 18.

93. The text has לְבַרְכָּתָא; emended to לְבַרְכָּתָא with W.H.Brownlee, op. cit., p.33, note 19.

When these things come to pass in Israel according to all these rules for an institution of a holy spirit, for eternal truth, for the making of atonement for the guilty rebellions and sinful infidelities and for favor for the land more than the flesh of whole burnt-offerings and the fats of sacrifice, and the offering of the lips is accounted as a fragrant offering⁹⁴ of righteousness and perfection of way as an acceptable freewill oblation. At that time the men of the community shall be set apart as a house of holiness for Aaron, being united a holy of holies and a house of community for Israel, those who walk in perfection. (9:3-6)

There is no mention of suffering bringing atonement for others, rather these verses teach that God's favor is procured for the sect and for the land by an "offering of the lips" and by "perfection of way". Noticeably lacking in 1QS is any reference to "healing by stripes" or any of the expiatory language found in Isaiah 53. It is not denied that there are similarities between 1QS and Isaiah. This we have already seen. But one must remember that the sect was addicted to the common Jewish practice of the day, that is, allegorical interpretation. 1QpHab and CD are cases in point. So one must not expect an exact transferal of ideas from the Old Testament. The sect did not expect to be free from trouble and persecution, as 1QS 1:16-18 clearly shows. Josephus (Wars 2:8:10) says that the Essenes "went through

94. Prayer as a substitute for sacrifice is seen in Psa. 69:31,32; Ben Sira 35:1ff.; J.M.Baumgarten, "Sacrifice and Worship among the Jewish Sectarians of the Dead Sea (Qumran Scrolls)", HTR XLVI, 1953, p.150, points out that fasting, charity, the study of the Law, the table in the home, and various other observances were also held by the Rabbis to have the value of sacrifice.

all kinds of instruments of torment, that they might be forced either to blaspheme their legislator, or to eat what was forbidden them". But the sect did not consider this persecution and death as an atoning sacrifice for the land of Israel. It was only the lot to be endured by those who were dedicated to truth. It was part of God's method for refining from sin.

The key to the problem is found in the two concepts of the sect as a "sanctuary" (8:5; 9:6) and as atoning for sin by "an offering of the lips . . . (and) perfection of way" (9:4,5). Regarding the former W.H.Brownlee says, "In relation to the nation, it was the holy of holies, and through it atonement was made for the land (viii, 6, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$)".⁹⁵ But how was this atonement made? It was by a spiritual sacrifice.

It is to be remembered that the whole atonement basis of the sect was divorced from any physical sacrifice. When a man entered the community he took an oath to return to the Law of Moses, to purge out completely the elements of evil, to practice justice and the "anguish of the refining furnace", and to symbolize this by the baptismal rite. A member of the sect dedicated himself as a spiritual sacrifice

95. W.H.Brownlee, op. cit., p.35, note 10.

in order to have his wickedness forgiven. Thus 1QS 1:11 says that the members of the sect are those "who dedicate themselves as free-will offerings to His truth (מִיִּתְּנֵהוּ לְאֵלֵינוּ)", and 5:6 promises atonement "for all those who dedicate themselves as free-will offerings for holiness in Aaron (וְכָל־הַיִּתְּנֵהוּ לְאֵלֵינוּ)".⁹⁶

Thus this sacrificial language is very significant, for it shows the means by which the sect believed that atonement would be made. It gives us the very crux of the Servant problem. The sect was the sanctuary; the individual members offered themselves as free-will offerings to the Lord. Here we see a parallel with Romans 12:1,

I appeal to you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, to present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual worship.

This would then be, as 1QS 9:3-6 undoubtedly states, the atoning sacrifice for the land of Israel. God had established the "sure house" (CD 3:17-20), the sect, as the sanctuary. The members of the community became the "lamb without blemish", the perfect sacrifice for all of Israel. Thus we see the reason for the stringent rules, and the withdrawal of full status from any member who sinned. When a man was a full member he was walking in "perfection of

⁹⁶. Cf. also 6:13; 9:5,24.

way" (8:18; 9:5), and was therefore a fitting "lamb" without spot. This would not be a once for all thing; it was to be an eternal ordinance (1QS 3:11,12). So the sect was known as the "community of eternal covenant" (1QS 5:6), the "eternal planting, a holy house for Israel, a most holy institution for Aaron" (1QS 8:5,6), a holy abode with "eternal knowledge to enact laws, and to offer up an agreeable odor . . . to establish a covenant with eternal ordinances" (1QS 8:9,10), and under a "covenant of eternal communion" (1QS 3:11,12).

It is important to realize that the result of these oblations was that God would show favor on the land. There is nothing said about an expiatory work for individual Israelites. It is merely a reference to atoning for the land so that God would give continued peace to Israel. It is the prophetic theme of repentance bringing God's salvation for the land of Israel.⁹⁷ Yet it would only be those who returned to God who would enjoy this new peace.

The Servant of Isaiah was to be a sacrifice for sin, but the Qumran sect interpreted this in a spiritual sense. As 1QS 9:5,6 states, "the offering of the lips is accepted

⁹⁷. One is reminded of Abraham's intercession for Sodom in Gen. 18, and God's promise to spare it if He found only ten righteous men; cf. Ezek. 22:30.

as a fragrant offering". They, as the Servant, would offer themselves in the sanctuary of the community. They lived in the spirit of Isaiah 53:11, "By his knowledge (of God's way)" would the Servant make many to be reckoned as righteous.

D. The Zadokite Fragments

During the end time there will be great suffering for Israel. This is God's punishment for their sin. CD 1:13ff. tells of the backsliding Israelites who removed "the landmark which the forefathers had set up in their inheritance in order to cause the curses of His covenant to cleave to them, thus delivering them to the sword that shall execute the vengeance of the covenant". CD 4:13 says that "during all those years (the time before the Messiah) Belial shall be let loose upon Israel".⁹⁸ CD 7:11 predicts that at the

98. In the Scrolls the spirit world is basically viewed in the following way: (1) there are two opposing forces in the present world---good and evil. These are known as "spirits of truth" (רוחות אמת) and "spirits of perversion" (רוחות שקר). There is a "prince of lights" (שר אורים; LQS 3:20; CD 5:18; LQM 13:10) who controls the good spirits, and an "angel of darkness" (מלאך חושך; LQS 3:21) who rules the evil spirits. This prince of lights is also known as the "angel of truth" (מלאך אמת; LQS 3:24), and "Michael" (LQM 13:10,14; 17:6-8; Michael is also accompanied by Gabriel, Sariel, and Raphael; cf. LQM 9:15,16; Book of Noah 2:4 in D.Barthélemy and J.T.Milik, op. cit., p.152, appendix 19), while the angel of darkness is identified elsewhere by the familiar name of "Belial" (בליעל; LQS 1:18,23; 2:19; CD 4:13; 5:18; 8:2; LQM 1:13; 13:2,4,11, etc.), "Mastema" (מסטמה; CD 16:5; cf. LQM 13:11; LQS 8:23; Jubilees 10,11,17-19,48,49), and
(cont.)

final time "there will come upon you and upon your people and upon your father's house such days as have not come from the day that Ephraim departed from Judah" (cf. 8:11; 20:15).

The meaning behind this suffering is given in 20:25-27 where the final time for Israel is called "the days of its purgings".

But all those members of the covenant who have broken out of the boundary of the Torah, when the glory of God shall appear unto Israel, shall be cut off from the mi/dst/ of the camp, and with them all the wicked of Judah in the days of its purgings (בְּיָמֵי טָהָרָתָא).

The word "purgings" is the same one we found in 1QS 1:17 and 8:4 where the context concerned the refining of the righteous. The final days, as seen by the Zadokite Fragments, would mean a great time of testing by fire. The unrighteous dross would be completely burned up. Only the

"Satan" (שָׂטָן; 1QH frag 4:6; 45:3). (2) These spirits were created by God (1QS 3:15,25; cf. Isa. 45:6,7). (3) Every man has a share of both the good and evil spirits, but the amounts in each man are not the same; they are his preordained inheritance from God (1QS 4:23-25). (4) They battle for the rule of men's lives (1QS 3:17-24; 4:16-18,23). (5) They are ultimately controlled by God (1QH 2:21-24; 10:8,9; 1QS 3:15-17). (6) They are used to test and instruct men (1QS 4:2-7; 26). (7) The good angels fight on the side of Israel and will bring her victory in world conflict (1QM 7:4-7; 12:8ff.; 13:10; 17:5-8; 1QSa 2:8,9). (8) They are Jahweh's instruments in judgment on sinful men (CD 2:6; 4:13; 1QS 4:12; 1QH 3:35, 36; 1QM 1:10,11,15; cf. I Enoch 56:1). (9) All evil angels will finally be destroyed by God (1QS 5:18,19).

pure would remain.⁹⁹

E. The Habakkuk Commentary

It is patent throughout 1QpHab that suffering in the pre-Messianic days was the lot of the righteous.

'(The violence done to Lebanon will overwhelm you; the destruction of the boasts) will seize (you), for the blood of men and violence to a land, to a city and all who dwell in it' (Hab. 2:17). This saying concerns the wicked priest, that to him may be paid his recompense, as he dealt with the poor; for Lebanon is the council of the community, and the boasts are the simple ones of Judah, the doors of the Torah. God will execute judgment upon him and destroy him, since he plotted to destroy the poor. (12:1-6; cf. 5:10-12; 9:9-12)

However the scroll is not concerned with any real meaning behind this suffering. It is merely to be endured faithfully for the glory of God. Yet there is perhaps a slight indication of a deeper understanding to their persecution.

1QpHab 5:4-6 says,

Into the hand of His chosen God will give the judgment of all the nations, and through the chastisement (administered) by them (i.e. His chosen) all the wicked among His people will be punished, because they (His chosen) kept His commandments when they were in distress.

The passage is reminiscent of the Servant in Isaiah 42:1,

⁹⁹. Cf. also CD 20:1-7 where the man who has disobeyed the commands of the sect and is excluded from the congregation is called one who "is melted in the midst of a furnace", a parallel to the spiritual purging in 1QS 8:1-4, 16-18.

"Behold My servant whom I uphold, My chosen in whom My soul delights. I have put My Spirit upon him; he will bring forth judgment to the Gentiles". The Servant in 1QpHab is thus the righteous remnant who will rise up in the end of days to administer God's judgment on the wicked. The atoning work of the Servant is not mentioned, if indeed it even was a part of their thought.

F. The Rule of the Congregation

The expectation of the sect to atone for the land, as we saw in 1QS, is repeated in 1QSa.

And this is the order for all the congregation of Israel in the last days in their gathering together to walk according to the commandment of the sons of Zadok, the priests, and the men of their covenant, who have turned aside from walking in the way of the people. They are the men of His council who have kept His covenant in the midst of wickedness in order to atone for the land¹⁰⁰ (1:1-3)

Is this the same hope as 1QS 8 and 9 express? It would appear to be, especially since no mention is made of suffering as the means of this atonement. Furthermore it is the whole group, the council, that accomplishes this work. The text gives regulations for the enrollment of members into full status. The implication that follows is that when a person becomes a fully dedicated member, he is truly one who atones. It is spiritual sacrifice, the

100. לַכַּפֹּר בְּעַד הָאָרֶץ.

offering of one's self into the sanctuary of the sect, for the text says that atonement comes by those who have "kept His covenant in the midst of wickedness".

Thus we have noticed that the Scrolls consistently teach that suffering brings personal refinement from sin. There is no further aspect, no doctrine of an Isaianic Suffering Servant. It is merely a continuation of the prophetic emphasis of Zechariah and Malachi. Atonement will be made for the land, but this is the result of repentance, not sacrifice. But there is a second phase to the final days, the preservation of the remnant and the vindictory battle, and this is also found in the Scrolls.

THE TIME OF VINDICATION

A. The Psalms of Thanksgiving

Much of the theme of this scroll concerns the suffering being heaped upon the righteous. This is typical apocalyptic emphasis. Yet it is suffering that will bring salvation. The remnant will be purified, escaping the great outpouring of God's wrath, and rising up to destroy the enemy in battle. The authors of 1QH exhibit a calm assurance that they will see the new age. So in 2:21-23 the author thanks God because He has "sheltered me from all the snares of the pit . . . and by Thy steadfast-love Thou wilt save my soul".

Thus also 5:5-12 says,

- :5 I thank Thee, O Lord,
 For Thou hast not forsaken me when I sojourned
 among a people of . . .
 /And not/ according to my guilt hast Thou judged me,
 And Thou hast not forsaken me because of the evil
 devices of my imagination,
 And Thou hast rescued my life from the pit,¹⁰¹
 And Thou hast given /the soul of Thy servant/ in
 the midst of lions,
 Set for the sons of guilt.
 Lions crushing the bones of the powerful,
 And drinking the blood of the mighty.
 And Thou hast placed me in a dwelling with many
 fishermen
 Who spread a net over the face of the waters,
 And (with) those who hunt the sons of injustice.
 And there for judgment hast Thou established me;
 A counsel of truth hast Thou fortified in my heart,
 And water of the covenant¹⁰² for those who seek it;
 And Thou hast shut the mouth of young lions,¹⁰³
 :10 Whose teeth are like a sword,
 And their fangs like a sharp spear,
 (Like) the venom of serpents.
 Their whole purpose is to seize,
 And they lay in wait.¹⁰⁴
 But they did not open their mouth against me,
 For Thou, O my God, hast sheltered me from the
 sons of man,
 And Thy law Thou hast hidden within /me/,
 /Untill/ the appointed time when Thy salvation is
 revealed to me.

101. Cf. LQH 2:17, "they have turned down to the pit
 the life of a man".

102. Reading with M. Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 408.

103. Probably a reference to the divine agents of punishment, as are the "fishermen" and "those who hunt"; cf. Isa.
 19:8; Jer. 16:16.

104. וירבו for ויראבו; as suggested by J. Baumgarten and
 M. Mansoor, "Studies in the New Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns)
 II", JBL LXXIV, 1955, p. 194, note 46; cf. I Sam. 15:5. The
 omission of aleph occurs occasionally in the Scrolls; cf.
LQS 3:8, חנן for חנאן; LQIsa 37:29, נא for נאנ.

The author is praising God for keeping him from death.

"Salvation" means that the Lord would "spare them as a man spares his son who serves him" (Mal. 3:17).¹⁰⁵ There is, however, a further aspect to this. The men of Qumran would have a definite part in the final events. They would not merely suffer in silence, for with definite statement the writers of the Hodayot look for an eschatological battle in which the righteous would overcome their enemies.

And then, at the time of judgment, the sword of God¹⁰⁶
shall come quickly,
And all the sons of His truth¹⁰⁷ shall awake to
:30 destroy . . . wickedness,
And all the sons of guilt shall be no more.
The Mighty One shall bend His bow,
And shall open the besieged (city),
. to a broad place without end,¹⁰⁸
And (He shall open) the everlasting gates,
In order to bring out the vessels of war,
And they shall keep away (the enemy) from border
to border,¹⁰⁹
And there shall be no deliverance¹¹⁰ for the

105. This concept has important implications for the problem of resurrection; cf. chapter VI.

106. Cf. Isa. 34:6; Jer. 12:12; 47:6; etc.

107. M. Wallenstein, "A Striking Hymn from the Dead Sea Scrolls", BJRL XXXVIII. 1955, p. 263 renders "all his faithful children".

108. Figurative of freedom; cf. Psa. 118:5 where מרחב is used in conjunction with מצר, as here. It reads, "I called to the Lord from (my) distress; He answered me and set me free" (literally, "He answered me unto the broad place"); cf. also II Sam. 22:20; Psa. 18:20; 31:9.

109. For this use of נצח with מן cf. I Chron. 12:1.

110. The section reads מִקְצֵה עַד מִקְצֵה וְלֹא יִהְיֶה מִפְּלֵטָה לָם.

guilty,¹¹¹
 They shall be trampled upon completely,¹¹²
 And there shall be no remnant of them,¹¹³
 And no hope in the greatness of their army,¹¹³
 And for all the mighty of wars there shall be no
 flight,
 For to the God Most High . . .
 And those who lie down in the dust shall raise a
 standard,
 And the worm of men¹¹⁴ shall lift up a sign,¹¹⁵
 Making known that the wicked were¹¹⁶ cut off in
 the wars of the insolent.
 And the one causing the overwhelming scourge to
 pass over,
 Shall not enter into the fortification . . .
 (6:29-35)

Here the emphasis is on the supernatural character of the final war, although the author does see a place for the righteous remnant. The "sword of God", which appears as well in LQM 19:11, emphasizes the fact that, as in the Old Testament, the expectation was that the Day of Jahweh, the יוֹם ה', would be a time when God Himself would actually be present on earth. So in Amos' vision of Jahweh standing

111. יצר אשמה, "creature of guilt".

112. Cf. chapter III, pp.85-88.

113. The section reads לְאִרְיָהּ לָהֶם וְאִין תְּקוּהָ בָרֹב מִלֵּל .

114. M.Wallenstein, op. cit., p.263 suggests translating as "worm-eaten bodies". The Hebrew is חֹלְעַת מַתִּים.

115. Cf. Isa. 30:17 where the same words תָּרַן and נָס are used in parallel.

116. Reconstructing according to M.Wallenstein, op. cit., p.250; לְהוֹבִיעַ כִּי לָכֶרֶתוּ בְּשַׁעֲתָם בְּמַלְחָמוֹת זָדִים .

beside the altar, the words of the Lord are,

Smite the capitals until the thresholds shake,
And shatter them on the heads of all the people;
And what are left of them I will slay with the
sword;
Not one of them shall flee away,
Not one of them shall escape. (9:1; RSV)

The phrase *וַיִּקַּח יְהוָה בַּיָּד*, "the Mighty One shall bend His bow", I take as a reference to God,¹¹⁷ although *וַיִּקַּח* can be used of the Messiah or of any warrior. The "sword" is God's, so also the "bow". There is a passing reference to the army of the righteous, the "sons of His truth", and undoubtedly in the final analysis the actual sword would be wielded by a human hand, but to the author it was God Himself who was the warrior. This of course is common in apocalyptic, as well as in the Old Testament in general.

There is another passage which adds a note to the battle theme.

And I shall raise myself up against those who
scorn me,
And I shall bring my hand against all those who
hate me . . .
Thou shalt give them fear on account of Thy people,
And a shattering to all the peoples of the lands,
In order to cut off in judgment all those who
transgress Thy word. (4:22-27)

The author is no meek, unresisting "lamb that is led to the

¹¹⁷. Cf. chapter IX, pp.337ff. for use of *וַיִּקַּח* with God; also Lam. 2:4; Hab. 3:9; Psa. 7:13 which speak of the "bow" of God.

slaughter" (Isa. 53:7). He is a man with a passion for revenge. His hope is for vindication by his own hands.

So the familiar apocalyptic expectation appears in the Psalms of Thanksgiving. From the midst of persecution the authors wrote a message of hope. The righteous would be spared, they would see their enemies trampled under their feet. Now they were down-trodden and despised; one day soon, perhaps tomorrow, the tables would be turned. God would rescue His elect.

B. The War Scroll

The War Scroll is careful to stress the supernatural aspect of future apocalyptic battles which will culminate in Armageddon and the total destruction of all of Israel's enemies. However it also makes it clear that the righteous remnant will take part. Column 1 depicts the conquering of Palestine and its immediate neighbors by the remnant of Israel.¹¹⁸ The scroll begins,

[And this is the order for the arrangement of]¹¹⁹
the war. The beginning of the extending of the hand
of the sons of light (shall be) to hurl against the
lot of the sons of darkness, against the might of
Belial, against the troop of Edom and Moab and the
sons of Ammon and the [might of the inhabitants of]¹²⁰

118. Cf. 18:1ff. for a similar, though fragmentary, account.

119. וְזֶה סֵדֶר לְסִדְרָה הַמִּלְחָמָה.

120. וְחֵיל יוֹשְׁבֵי פְלֶשֶׁת.

Philistia, and against the troops of the Kittim of Asshur, and (those who are) with them for help, the ones who act wickedly against the covenant. The sons of Levi and the sons of Judah and the sons of Benjamin, the exiles of the desert, shall fight against them . . . when the exiles of the sons of light return from the desert of the nations to camp in the desert of Jerusalem. (1:1-3a)

Quite clearly we have described here the regathering of the remnant as described in Isaiah 11:11-16. The first stage in the final scene of history would be the war of the faithful regathered southern kingdom (including Levi) against what J. van der Ploog terms "la partie syro-palestinienne de l'empire seleucide".¹²¹ Notice in these lines that the whole area of Palestine is covered---Edom, Moab, Ammon, Philistia (the south), and Asshur (undoubtedly Syria in the north). The troops of Israel are camped in the "desert of Jerusalem". The remnant has arrived to reconquer Palestine, as it had taken the promised land under the leadership of Joshua.

While the picture is manifestly that of Isaiah 11, there is another element as well. The phrase וְיָשְׁבוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ (1:2) recalls Daniel 11:32 and the unfaithful people of Israel (described as וְיָשְׁבוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ) who apostasized to the side of the little "horn" (Daniel 7:8; תְּהִי of

121. J. van der Ploeg, "La Règle de la guerre. Traduction et notes", VT V, 1955, p.394.

11:21, Antiochus Epiphanes).

It is clear that the destruction of the enemy would not take place in one gigantic battle. There would be a series of skirmishes leading up to the final Armagoddon scene. So we find in 1:1 the phrase וְאֵת מַלְכֵּי הַיָּם וְאֵת מַלְכֵּי הַבָּרָא. The war set forth in lines 1-3 appears therefore to be merely a sort of guerrilla action; the main battle for control of Palestine is depicted in lines 3-7.

And following the battle they shall go up from there to fight against the king of ¹²² the Kittim in Egypt; and in his time he shall go out with great anger to fight against the kings of the north, and (in) his wrath to destroy and to cut off the horn of his enemies. ¹²³ is the time of salvation for the people of God, and the time of ruling for all the men of His lot, but eternal destruction for all the lot of Belial. And there shall be a great disturbance among the ¹²⁴ sons of Japheth, and Asshur shall fall and (there will be) none to help him; and the kingdom of the Kittim shall have come to an end, in order to bring wickedness low without remnant, and there shall be no escape for all the sons ¹²⁵ of darkness. (1:3b-7)

The description in these lines, and in the rest of the column, is strikingly similar to Daniel 11 and 12. The

122. לְהִלָּחֵם עַל מַלְכֵּי.

123. אֵת מַלְכֵּי הַיָּם.

124. בְּנוֹת הַיָּם.

125. לְכֹל בְּנוֹת הַיָּם.

eleventh chapter of Daniel pictures the emergence into power of the little "horn" (Antiochus Epiphanes). In the beginning of the chapter various alliances and battles between the kings of the north and south are discussed. Coming to 11:40 we read, "At the time of the end the king of the south shall attack him (the king of the north), but the king of the north shall rush upon him like a whirlwind" The war ends in victory for the king of the north, however his rule of power does not last, for chapter 12 begins with the prediction of his downfall. "At that time shall arise Michael, the great prince who has charge of your people . . . at that time your people shall be delivered, everyone whose name shall be found written in the book". Those then are the stages---the war, begun by the southern king, between north and south, the victory of the north, and the final triumph of the people of God.

Certain features appear in LQM 1 which indicate that it is a midrash on Daniel 11 and 12. (1) Lines 4 and 5 tell of a great conflict between the "king of the Kittim in Egypt" (the king of the south) and the "kings of the north" (always "king" in Daniel). These latter figures are undoubtedly the "Kittim of Asshur".¹²⁶ (2) The battle is

126. J. van der Ploeg, loc. cit., writes, "Les 'rois du nord' peuvent donc bien être le roi de Syrie et ses rois-alliés". The author of LQM is referring to an alliance between the countries he had mentioned previously, i.e., Edom, Moab, Ammon, Philistia, and Syria---the "Kittim of Asshur".

inaugurated by the king of the Kittim in Egypt (1:4).

(3) It appears that the "kings of the north" are the victors, for although the text says that the king of the Kittim in Egypt goes out in his wrath "to destroy and to cut off the horn of his enemies", it does not say that he accomplishes this. In any case later we read of a great disturbance in which "Asshur" is defeated. The sequence of events is then as follows: (a) the king of the Kittim in Egypt attacks the kings of the north, (b) however the exiles of Israel, as line 3 says, launch an action against Egypt in which it appears that Egypt is defeated, (c) the exiles then turn their attention to the men of Asshur and also destroy them, for the text says that "Asshur shall fall and there will be none to help him". So what takes place is that the 73707 rise up in the midst of the struggle between north and south to conquer and to destroy both sides, for the author proclaims "and the kingdom of the Kittim shall have come to an end" (1:6). By "Kittim" in this text I understand both the Kittim of Asshur and Egypt. The author is summing up the war for possession of Palestine; both Egypt and Asshur have fallen. The dual use of the term "Kittim" as a description at one time of all of Israel's enemies (16:3), and then at another of a certain enemy in particular (e.g. the "Kittim in Egypt"; 1:4) is clear from the text.

(4) The attack of the king of the south in Daniel 11:40

takes place לְפָנָיו. 1QM 1:4 speaks of the rise of the king of the Kittim in Egypt as happening לְפָנָיו. (5) Daniel 11:45 predicts the fate of the king of the north by saying, "yet he shall come to his end, and there will be none to help him (לֹא יִהְיֶה עֲשֵׂרֵם)". The author of 1QM states in 1:6 that Asshur will fall, "and there will be none to help him (לֹא יִהְיֶה עֲשֵׂרֵם)". (6) Daniel 12:1 depicts the last days and the rise of Michael as a "time of distress (זְמַן צָרָה)". 1QM 1:11,12 describes the final scene as a לְחֵמָה לְפָנָיו for the redeemed of God (cf. also 15:1). (7) The promise of Daniel 12:3 is that "those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the firmament". Following the downfall of the Kittim the promise is "and the sons of righteousness shall shine¹²⁷ to all the ends of the world" (1:8). (8) The place of Michael is quite definite in Daniel 12:1 as regards the final war. He is the great prince who fights for the people of Israel. In 1QM 1 there is no mention of Michael,¹²⁸ although there are references to the "angels of His dominion" (1:15), "the congregation

127. The word in Daniel is the Hiph'il of נִהַר, while it is the Hiph'il of נִרָא in 1QM 1:8.

128. The lacunae in 1QM 1:16 may possibly have read, "to all holy ones He (God) shall appear with the help of Michael . . .".

of angels (מַלְאָכִים) and the assembly of men" (1:10,11), and "the shout of angels and men on the day of destruction" (1:11). However Michael is undoubtedly to be included with these "angels", for he is found throughout the scroll in the position of a helper for Israel. 1QM 13:10 speaks of the "prince of light" (clearly Michael) whom God appointed for the help of Israel, who stands in opposition to Belial, the angel of hostility.¹²⁹ 1QM 17:5-8 proclaims,

Today is His appointed time (מִיָּמֵינוּ; cf. 1:10) to humble and subdue the prince of the dominion of wickedness. And He will send eternal help to the lot of His [con]gregation by the strength of the angel which He has made His sublime servant, Michael, with eternal light, in order to make the c[on]flect of Is[ra]el to shine

129. The striking dualistic conceptions of the Qumran sect have been a source of much discussion since the initial publication of the Scrolls. An examination into the details of this matter, however, lies outside the scope of this study. Cf. especially K.G.Kuhn, "Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion", ZTK XLIX, 1952, pp.296-316; A.Dupont-Sommer, "L'instruction sur les deux Esprits dans le Manuel de Discipline", RHR CXLII, 1952, pp.5-35; The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes, pp.118-130; Y.Yadin, Megillat Milhemet Beney 'Or Bibheney Hoshekh, chapter 9, pp.209-221; L.Ginzberg, Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte, I, pp.241-261. Kuhn, denying any Gnostic background, claims that the dualism of the Scrolls was derived from the ancient Iranian religion in combination with a Hebrew monotheistic doctrine of creation. It is very possible that at the time of the Exile and the contact with Persian doctrine, with its clear distinctions between light and darkness, between good and evil as world orders, that the Jewish people unconsciously assimilated and put into sharper contrast that which was already part of their religion. For such a nationalistic people as the Jews, and for such a literalistic group as the Qumran sect, basic doctrine could only have been accepted if it were believed to be from the God of Israel Himself. Cf. also A.R.Johnson, Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel (Cardiff: Univ. of Wales, 1955), pp.81-93 for the Old Testament dualistic background.

with joy, (in order to give) peace and blessing to the lot of God, in order to exalt among the angels the government of Michael, and the dominion of Israel on all flesh.

(9) Perhaps one further parallel should be mentioned here, although this is not found in column 1. Daniel 11:35 says, "And some of those who are wise shall fall, to refine (𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤁) and to cleanse among them, and to make them white" (cf. 12:10). 1QM 17:9 exhorts, "And you, sons of His covenant, be strong in the refining furnace (𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏) of God" (cf. 16:11,12; 17:1; Mal.3:1ff.).

The blue-print for the future battles that would end in the capture of Palestine by the sons of light is given in column 1. All the immediate enemies of the Jews--- Egypt and Asshur---will have been destroyed. The scroll however goes on to list the directions for further wars. These conflicts would see the destruction of all of Israel's enemies, the totality of the sons of darkness. So we read in column 2 of a forty years war¹³⁰ which is directed against Mesopotamia, Assyria (Asshur), Persia, Ishmael, Ham, and others. This war is different from that in column 1 in the fact that here the troops of Israel comprise all twelve

¹³⁰. The actual war years are twenty-nine, for six years are to be used for preparation, and five years are Sabbath years in which no fighting is to take place. It is interesting to notice that the war covers the descendants of Shem, Ham, and probably Japheth (the lacuna in 2:14)---the totality of peoples.

tribes, and their base of operations is Jerusalem itself, not the surrounding desert. In column 1 the remnant is fighting for possession of Palestine; in column 2 they are in control of Palestine and extending their war to the utmost parts of their world. The reason for the change from three tribes in column 1 to twelve tribes in column 2 is not clear. J. van der Ploeg suggests that the lost part of column 1 contained a description of the conversion of all the tribes (Ezek. 37:15-28).¹³¹

victory in the eschaton war was an assured thing to the author of the War Scroll because of his intense faith in God. 1QM 1:12 says, "It is a time of strong distress for the redeemed of God, but in all their distresses Thou shalt not be as one causing suffering unto the destruction of the eternally redeemed". The remnant would be saved

131. J. van der Ploeg, op. cit., p.397. This blue-print for battle obviously requires that the sect be composed of large numbers. The excavations at the Qumran settlement would seem to belie any great enrollment. However it may well be that Qumran was only the meeting-place for the yearly covenanting of the sect (1QS 2:19ff.), and that the "thousands and hundreds and fifties and tens" (1QS 2:21) camped round about, even as modern day pilgrims do at Mecca. Also, as M. Black points out ("The Messiah(s) of Aaron and Israel", unpublished paper) if the sect is identified with the Essenes a total membership of 4000, such as Josephus gives (Ant. 18:1:5), with settlements throughout Palestine implies a correspondingly large number of adherents. So Josephus gives the number of Pharisees in the time of Herod the Great at 6000, but estimates have put the number of adherents at 25,000 (cf. J. Jeremias, Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu. Kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte IIB (Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1929), p.122.).

through the time of battle. Righteous Israel would extend her suzerainty over the whole world.

C. The Manual of Discipline

In line with their office as the Servant, the sect is given, aside from suffering, the job of bringing judgment on the wicked. 1QS 8:6 says that the sect shall "render to the wicked their reward". During the epoch of wickedness before the coming of the Messiah and the visitation of God they were living a life of non-violence. 1QS 10:17,18 observes, "I will not return to a man the recompense of evil; with good will I pursue a man, for with God is the judgment of every living thing; He will reward a man with his due". However this passive existence was not to last forever. A period of turning the other cheek, and then the righteous would rise up in holy revenge, for the same writer affirms, "I will not be jealous with an evil spirit, and for the wealth of violence my soul shall not desire, and on the abundance of a corrupt man I will not lay hold, until the day of vengeance" (10:18,19).¹³²

D. The Zadokite Fragments

The preservation of the remnant is clearly promised

¹³³. Cf. CD 12:6,7, "Let no one put forth his hand to shed the blood of a man of the Gentiles for the sake of property and gain"; also 10:18; bEzrub. 21a.

in CD 19:10, "these (the righteous) shall escape in the time of visitation" (cf. 3:20,21).¹³⁴ In CD 20:14-22 we see reflected the two-fold division of the last days. Lines 14-17a speak of the judgment of God upon Israel. The text says that during the forty year period before the end "the wrath of God will be kindled against Israel". However lines 17b-22 depict the final event, the eschaton, the time at the end of the forty years, when all the unrighteous will be consumed. It is at that moment when "salvation and righteousness shall be revealed for them that fear God", a parallel phrase to 1QH 5:11,12, "until the appointed time when Thy salvation is revealed to me". It is then that the division between the righteous and wicked will take place.¹³⁵ It is at that time when the righteous will engage in the holy war. CD 20:27-34 says,

But all those that hold fast to these rules, to go out and go in according to the Torah, and listen to the voice of the Teacher . . . they shall rejoice and be glad and their heart shall be strong, and they shall overcome all the sons of the world, and God shall forgive them, and they shall witness His salvation, for they have taken refuge in His holy name.

There is no thought here of the common concept of the one

134. The concept of the sect as "chosen ones" emerges in the fact that those who are to be destroyed are destined for this because "God has not chosen them from of old" (2:7).

135. Cf. Mal. 3:16-18.

and the many, the solidarity of the Jewish race. Though the evil acts of some in Israel had brought destruction upon all, yet salvation was an individual matter. As CD 4:12 expresses, "Each must stand upon his own watchtower". It was a man's personal relationship to God that determined his future. God said the same thing in Ezekiel 33:20, "I will judge each of you according to his (own) ways".

E. The Habakuk Commentary

This scroll is also explicit regarding the place of the righteous in the last days. 1QpHab 5:3 says, "God will not destroy His people by the hand of the nations", and 8:1-3 promises,

This means that all the doers of the Torah in the house of Judah God will deliver from the house of judgment for the sake of their labor and their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness.¹³⁶

The righteous will be spared to rise up in personal vindication against their enemies. It is this hope that is expressed in 1QpHab 5:4-6,

Into the hand of His chosen God will give the judgment of all the nations, and through the chastisement (administered) by them (i.e. His chosen) all the wicked among His people will be punished, because they (His chosen) kept His commandments when they were in distress.

136. Cf. appendix A, pp.27,28 for discussion of the meaning of "faith" in this passage.

F. The Rule of the Congregation and the Benedictions

1QSa speaks of a person "taking his stand in the war to humble the nations" (1:21). We also notice the prominence of the army in 1QSa 2:14ff. where the "heads of the thousands of Israel" sit before the Messiah. 1QSB 5 presents the blessing for the "prince of all the congregation", and of this Messianic leader it is said, "you will strike the people with the power of your mouth, and with your sceptre you will devastate the land" (5:24). Finally the promise in 1QSB 3:7 is that God "will fight at the head of your thousands".

The Scrolls are quite uniform in picturing the sequence of events for the righteous in the final scene. First suffering, and then preservation through God's wrath to take part in the eschatological battle. The meaning or purpose behind their suffering is viewed in a consistent manner. The righteous remnant, the sect of Qumran, would be the "Suffering Servant". However it is important to remember that their suffering would not be vicarious; its effects applied only to the individual sufferer. Persecution was a time of refining, of purging out the evil dross. 1QS and 1QSa add a further emphasis, although this is also found occasionally in 1QH.¹³⁷ The sect would be the sanctuary,

137. Cf. 1QH 15:10; 16:10-12.

while the individual members would offer themselves as free-will offerings, as those who lived a life of total obedience to the commands of God. It was a personal, non-violent refinement; a spiritual sacrifice. The effect of this would be to bring God's favor on the land. Israel would dwell in peace once more. It is the old prophetic theme of repentance and good works as the means of salvation. Those who returned to God, and were purified through suffering, would enter the new age. As God says in Jeremiah 5:1, "Run to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem; look and take note. Search her squares to see if you can find a man, one who does justice and seeks truth, that I may pardon her".

CHAPTER V

THE ABODE OF THE DEAD

Sheol, in the Old Testament, is quite uniformly depicted as the amoral abode of both righteous and unrighteous alike.¹ There are neither good people nor bad people in Sheol, neither morality nor immorality. It is a place where nothing means anything anymore. This does not imply obliteration or annihilation. Men still exist, only it is in a form that cannot really be called life. They are נְשָׁמָה, "ghosts" or "shades", "shadowy replicas of the whole living man, not any formerly constituent part of him".³ Men can still be recognized, for the condition of a man's life is reflected in Sheol. Thus the dead warrior is recognized by his weapon, as is the uncircumcized by his foreskin (Ezek. 32:20ff.). The trappings and thrones of kings are there (Isa. 14), and Samuel retains his mantle (I Sam. 28:14). Those who die wearing the garments of mourning are clothed

1. נֶשֶׁם, "Sheol", is synonymous with בֹּרַחַ, "pit" (Psa. 28:1; 30:4; 88:5; 143:7; Isa. 14:19; 38:18; Ezek. 26:20; 31:14,16; 32:18,24,29,30; Prov. 1:12) and נַחֲשׁ, "pit" (Psa. 16:10; 30:10; 55:24; 103:4; Isa. 38:17; Ezek. 28:8; Job 17:14; 33:18,22.

2. Most likely from נָחַ, "sink, relax", and so connoting "sunken or powerless beings" (cf. BDB, p.952); cf. Isa. 14:9; 26:14,19; Psa. 88:11; Prov. 2:18; 9:18; 21:16; Job 26:5.

3. H.W.Robinson, Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament (Oxford: Clarendon, 1946), p.96.

with them in Sheol (Gen. 42:38; cf. 37:35; II Sam. 14:2), and those slain by the sword bear the marks forever (Ezek. 32:25). But though both the good and the bad go to Sheol, once they die all moral connotations are gone. There is no punishment in the pit, no torment or reprobation. The righteous do not receive rewards and bliss. Death is the entrance into an eternal nothingness, into a land of forgetfulness (Psa. 88:13), where there is "no work or thought or knowledge or wisdom" (Eccles. 9:10).

Some have suggested that Sheol is a place of evil where illness and plague are concentrated,⁴ yet this is misleading. The inhabitants of Sheol do not experience the plague or the curse. Perhaps it is disease or wickedness that brings them to the grave, and in the Old Testament Sheol becomes synonymous with evil because wicked living inevitably ends in death. So the description of the loose woman in Proverbs 5:5 is that "her feet go down to death, her steps lay hold of Sheol". The Psalmist also cries, "the snares of death encompassed me, the pangs of Sheol laid hold of me; I suffered distress and anguish" (116:3; cf. Hosea 13:14; Jonah 2; Job 33:22-30). But these are outside the confines of Sheol itself. The eternal gates (Isa. 38:10;

4. Cf. J. Pedersen, Israel. Its Life and Culture (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), I-II, p.462.

Psa. 9:14; 107:18; Job 17:16; 38:17) close on a land of darkness (Job 10:21ff.; 38:17; Psa. 49:20), but not on a place of pain.

Job spoke of Sheol as a place of sleeping. "So a man lies down and rises not again; till the heavens are no more he will not awake or be roused out of his sleep" (14:12).

The nether world is also called "Abaddon", the place of corruption, a reference to the mouldering of the body in the grave (Psa. 88:12; Prov. 15:11; Job 26:6; 28:22).⁵ Elsewhere it is described as a great deep or pit from which come torrents of death (Psa. 69:3,16; 71:20; 88:7; Jonah 2), and where the inhabitants dwell in water (Job 26:5). Yet Daniel 12:2 sees it as a "land of dust" (ארץ עפר; cf. Job 17:16; Psa. 30:10).

It has been suggested that originally Sheol was outside the dominion of Jahweh.⁶ So Psalms 115:17 says, "The dead do not praise the Lord, nor do any that go down into silence". Also Psalms 6:6 reads, "For in death there is no remembrance of Thee; in Sheol who can give Thee praise?" The extension of God's power to embrace Sheol as well is conjectured to be a later development, as indicated in such as Job 26:6,

5. As J. Pedersen, op. cit., p.461, shows the grave (קבר) and Sheol are synonymous.

6. H.W. Robinson, op. cit., p.100.

"Sheol is naked before Him, and Abaddon has no covering". And the Psalmist can proclaim, "If I ascend to heaven, Thou art there; if I make my bed in Sheol, Thou art there" (139:8). However there need be no such progression of thought here. The dead are dead; they cannot render praise to God. This no one denies. Yet this does not necessarily mean that therefore God's power is absent from Sheol. If so this is a dualism not found elsewhere in the Old Testament. Jahweh simply has ordained that those who enter Sheol shall live in silence; at least this is what the ordinary Old Testament man thought. It may be that later writers began to realize the logic of the situation more completely. If God controlled Sheol, then surely the righteous would maintain fellowship with Him after death. Indeed they would be raised again; the grave could not hold them. But this is a different matter. It is not progression in the scope of God's power, but rather realization of the meaning of that power.

The point to be remembered for the discussion at hand is that in the Old Testament Sheol is not a place of punishment or rewards of any kind.⁷ We begin to see a development

7. The reference in Isaiah 24:21-23 to the shutting up of angels and kings "as prisoners in a pit" does not indicate any reprobation in Sheol. The context shows that God's punishment of the angels will be "in heaven", and of the kings it will be "on the earth" (24:21).

in the Sheol doctrine in Isaiah 26:9 and Daniel 12:2. In Isaiah the pit is only the temporary abode of the righteous, though still retaining its hold on the wicked. Yet still no mention is made of punishment for the wicked. When we get to Daniel 12:2 a further change is made. Sheol becomes the intermediate dwelling-place of certain wicked and righteous, while remaining the eternal abode for all the rest. The special class of righteous are given "everlasting life" on the earthly sphere; the wicked are condemned to "shame and everlasting contempt", that is, they do not return to Sheol, but go most likely to the fires of Gehenna. But in any case Sheol retains its neutral character.

The extra-canonical books exhibit a much greater development in the conception of the after-life, though of course there is no unity of viewpoint. Bon Sirra retains the Old Testament doctrine of Sheol. The dead do not praise God (17:28), they live in darkness (22:110), and they have no feelings (14:16). Punishment is unknown there: "Be it for a thousand years, a hundred, or ten, in Sheol there are no reproaches concerning life" (41:4). However with I Enoch 22:9-13 we notice a change. Sheol becomes a place of moral differences. There are three divisions for the dead in the after-world---the first for the righteous, the second for sinners who died without suffering retribution on earth, and the third for sinners who received their recompense during

life. For the first two Sheol is but a temporary place from which they will be resurrected to receive blessedness or torment. For the third Sheol becomes an eternal abode. It does not yet appear that the pit as a whole takes on a punitive character. The wicked who are resurrected to judgment are perhaps relegated only to one section of Sheol for punishment, for the other unrighteous have already received their recompense on earth.

The rest of the extra-canonical literature follows the lead of I Enoch 1-36. Life after death becomes a time of punishment or happiness. II Maccabees sees Sheol as the intermediate abode of the righteous (7:9,11,14),⁸ and the everlasting dwelling-place for the wicked (7:14). There is a hint that punishment will take place there (6:26), and that men may repent (12:42-45). In II Baruch the righteous are kept in "chambers" in Sheol (30:2)⁹ until the day they will be resurrected to earth and then to eternity in heaven (51). The wicked "rest in torment" (36:11) awaiting the time of resurrection and final judgment. I Enoch 37-71 and 91-104 speak of Sheol as a place of eternal punishment in fire for the wicked (56:8; 63:10; 99:11; 103:7), and therefore it becomes synonymous with Gehenna. This is also the

8. Perhaps also I Enoch 51:1.

9. Cf. I Enoch 100:5; IV Ezra 4:41.

conception of the Psalms of Solomon (14:6; 15:11; 16:20), II Enoch (40:12; 41:2; 42:2), the Assumption of Moses (10:10), IV Ezra (7:36; 8:53), Wisdom of Solomon (4:19), and Jubilees (7:29; 22:22).

It is not needful here to discuss any further the details of the post-Old Testament teaching.¹⁰ The point to be stressed for the problem at hand is that in this literature death is not the end of things, as it is in the Old Testament, but rather the after-life is seen as a time of rewards and punishments. It is against this background that the Qumran Scrolls are to be examined, for as R.H.Charles wrote, "From 180 B.C. onward Sheol is generally conceived as a place of moral distinctions, and shortly after 100 B.C. Sheol is described for the first time as an abode of fire, as in the New Testament".¹¹ With the knowledge of this change that took place in the thought-life of the Hebrew, and with an understanding of its meaning, the Scrolls can be more intelligently discussed.

A. The Psalms of Thanksgiving

The Hodayot hold a consistent Old Testament view of

10. The Rabbinic literature continues the same theme of blessedness or suffering after death; cf. C.Montefiore and H.Loewe, A Rabbinic Anthology, pp.580-608.

11. R.H.Charles, Religious Development Between the Old and New Testaments (London: Butterworth, 1914), p.121.

the abode of the dead. There is no hint that Sheol is a place of fire, or of compartments for good and evil, or of punishment, but rather it seems to have been viewed as a dwelling-place of dreary hopelessness, an abode where men ceased to feel or think. That this is the teaching of the Psalms of Thanksgiving is never directly stated, but there are various indications. (1) The fate of the unrighteous is never described in terms of suffering in the after-life nor of resurrection to judgment. We noticed in the chapter on the nature of the eschaton that the scroll conceives of the total destruction of the wicked from off the earth. It is always such as "all sons of guilt shall be no more" (6:50), or "every evil and wicked one Thou shalt destroy forever" (14:15,16). There is never any indication that they will be cast into a place of punishment.

(2) The references to death and Sheol are strictly in the manner of the Old Testament. Man returns to dust. 1QH 10:5,4 says, "What indeed is man . . . to dust is his return".¹² The author of 1QH 12:24-26 proclaims,

And I, one from the dust . . .
 . . . a fountain of impurity,
 And shame of dishonor;
 A reservoir of dust,
 And from a generation of darkness,
 And returning to dust;
 A figure of clay.

12. Cf. Gen. 3:19, "Dust you are, and unto dust you shall return".

Shool is a place of dead people, an abode of those who cannot feel or suffer. The broken phrase in 1QH 8:28,29 reads, ". . . upon me as those who go down to Sheol, and with the dead He searches out my spirit, for they have struck down my life to the pit". As Psalms 6:5 says, "In death there is no remembrance of Thee, in Sheol who shall give Thee thanks?" Also Psalms 88:10 reads, "Is it for the dead that Thou workest miracles? Shall the ropha'im rise up and praise Thee?" Furthermore the pit is viewed as a place from which it is a good thing to escape. It is always dreaded, as in the Old Testament. J. Pedersen says of the Psalter, "the Psalms only know terror of the grave".¹³ If there were a concept of Sheol, as there is in the apocalyptic books, which viewed it as a place of ease for the righteous, or even as an abode of temporary existence, one would not expect such an expression on the part of the Hodayot. 1QH 3:19 says, "I thank Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast redeemed my life from the pit", and 1QH 5:6 praises God because He has "rescued my life from the pit". The implication to be drawn from this is that Sheol is considered to be the abode of the righteous after death, and there is no indication here, or anywhere else in the scroll, that a man would ever leave its

13. J. Pedersen, op. cit., p. 463.

confines. The writer thanks God for saving him from death, for that would mean going to Sheol. He is not afraid of punishment, but only of becoming a ~~king~~, of being taken from the land of the living. We read of "snares of the pit" (2:21; 3:26), "arrows of the pit" (3:16,27), "pains of Sheol" (3:9), "gates of Sheol" (3:17), "gates of the pit" (5:13), "gates of death" (6:24), "bars of eternity" (3:18), and "breakers of death and Sheol" (3:8,9; 9:4).¹⁴ These things, however, do not speak of suffering in the after-life, for they are no different than such as Psalms 116:3, "the snares of death encompassed me, the pangs of Sheol laid hold on me; I suffered distress and anguish", or Psalms 9:14, "O Thou who liftest me up from the gates of death".¹⁵

(3) In the next chapter we will see that the Hodayot does not teach a resurrection doctrine, either of the righteous or the wicked, and therefore there can be no future judgment seat before which men must stand.

From the absence of any teaching regarding punishment in the grave, from the close parallels in language to the

14. Cf. 2:17; 10:34; frag 4:6; frag 45.

15. IQH 3:32 reads, "the rivers of Belial burst through to Abaddon, and the intelligent beings of the deep shall roar" (cf. also 17:13). There is no mention here of suffering in Abaddon or Sheol. The whole hymn is extremely symbolic, and I understand this to mean, as I suggested in chapter III, p. 84, that all wicked will be destroyed at the final judgment. It is hyperbole used to point out that no one will escape.

Old Testament, and from the lack of a resurrection hope (as we shall see later), I must conclude that the authors of the Psalms of Thanksgiving retained the Old Testament doctrine of Sheol.

B. The Zadokite Fragments

The Zadokite Fragments do not give much evidence as to their concept of what takes place after death. They are certainly not in the general line of apocalyptic works which make much of Sheol and punishment. CD 2:30 says, "All flesh that was on the dry land when they fell became as though they had not been". Though this is somewhat similar to I Enoch 102:11, "they became as though they had not been, and their spirits descended into Sheol in tribulation", it is significant that CD does not add the explanatory clause.

C. The Habakkuk Commentary

This scroll may teach a judgment of fire in the after-life. 1QpHab 10:12,13 promises that those who engage in falsehood "will enter judgments of fire because they cursed and insulted the elect of God". Just prior to this (10:3-5) the text reads,

'To cut off many peoples thou dost sin against thy soul'. It means thus: It is the house of judgment whose judgment God will give among many peoples; for from there He will bring it up for judgment and

in their midst He will convict it, judging it
with a fire of brimstone.¹⁶

In these two places in 1QpHab we read of a judgment of fire and brimstone. This perhaps refers to a Gehonna concept, but a better interpretation would be to see in these passages merely a teaching concerning the nature of the eschaton. The final days would see the outpouring of fire upon the unrighteous. As God says of Gog in Ezekiel 38:22, "With pestilence and bloodshed I will enter into judgment with him; and I will rain upon him and his hordes and the many peoples that are with him, torrential rains and hailstones, fire and brimstone".

D. The Manual of Discipline

This scroll is quite clear in its viewpoint regarding the abode of the dead. 1QS 2:7,8, giving a curse upon the "men of Belial's lot", says, "Damned by thou in the gloom of eternal fire". So 4:13 says that the wicked are destined for the "shame of destruction in the fire of the dark regions". Here is a clear case of fiery punishment after death. The paradox of associating fire with darkness appears in I Enoch 103:7,8, "Know you, that their souls will be made to descend into Sheol, and they shall be wretched in their great tribulation, and into darkness, and chains and a burning flame

16. Following the translation of W.H.Brownlee, BASOR 112, 1948, p.14; cf. also infra, pp.205-207.

where there is grievous judgment shall your spirits enter". The New Testament conceives of hell both as a place of darkness and of fire.¹⁷ Josephus describes Hades as a subterranean region of perpetual darkness where the souls of the unjust are kept in custody. However in a certain place in Hades there is set apart a lake of unquenchable fire which is reserved for the day of judgment when all the unjust will be consigned to its flames.¹⁸

There can be no doubt that 1QS teaches retribution for the unrighteous after death. Perhaps 1QS 2:17, which describes the lot of the wicked as in the "midst of the eternally cursed", shows a belief in perpetual torture for the wicked dead.¹⁹ However notice that though the wicked will suffer in Sheol, there is no real hint given, as there is in the apocalyptic literature, that the dead will be raised to judgment. It appears to say that the wicked are to suffer forever in "the gloom of the eternal fire". What happens to the righteous dead we are not explicitly told, although the author of 1QS 11:20-22 sees himself as returning to the dust

17. Cf. Matt. 8:12; 22:13; 25:41; II Pet. 2:4; Jude 6; Rev. 19:20; 20:10; 21:8.

18. Josephus, "Discourse to the Greeks concerning Hades" (in W. Whiston, The Works of Flavius Josephus (London: Virtue, 1841), pp. 901-903.

19. Cf. Jubilees 36:10; I Enoch 5:5.

of the earth.²⁰ Perhaps then, in spite of the silence on the subject, we must posit a "compartmentalized" view of the after-life, that is, the separation of Sheol and Gehenna as the respective abodes of righteous and wicked.

The rest of the Scrolls do not mention the abode of the dead, unless we can infer something from the title of the wicked---"sons of darkness" or the "lot of darkness". The righteous are called "sons of light" or the "lot of light". This may be symbolic of their respective dwelling-places---a place of darkness and a place of light.

The Qumran texts do not give much place to a discussion of the abode of the dead. 1QH is strictly Old Testament in its viewpoint; death for all means a return to dust, an entrance into the land of D'SET. 1QS indicates a later doctrine as it speaks of punishment for the wicked after death, but it appears to envision a "two-sectioned" abode of the dead, Sheol and Gehenna. The other scrolls are either vague or silent on the question, but this perhaps is significant. During the apocalyptic age when much was being written concerning the torments that awaited the unrighteous, all but one of the Scrolls avoid any mention of the subject. The Old Testament belief is their belief. Yet 1QS shows that

20. Cf. chapter VIII, pp.269-271.

at the time when it was written the men of Qumran were beginning to make the break to a later point of view.²¹ The unrighteous would not go unpunished.

21. Cf. appendix D, pp.59-81 for discussion of the order of the documents. I have placed 1QS as the latest of the Scrolls.

CHAPTER VI

THE PROBLEM OF RESURRECTION

One of the unique elements in apocalyptic literature is the development of the teaching concerning the resurrection. The Old Testament, aside from two passages, holds out no hope for the dead. Isaiah 26:19 and Daniel 12:2 are the two exceptions.

Your dead shall live, their bodies¹ shall rise.
O dwellers in the dust, awake and sing for joy, for
your dew is a dew of light, and on the land of shades
(חַיִּים וְחַיִּים) you will cause it to fall. (Isa. 26:19)

And many of those who sleep in the land of dust
shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to
shame and everlasting contempt. (Dan. 12:2)

It is to be noted that in these passages the doctrine of the resurrection is just developing. Isaiah sees only the righteous resurrected to share in the blessedness of the regenerated nation. The wicked remain in Sheol. R.H.Charles comments:²

Isaiah presents us with a truly spiritual doctrine of the future life; for that life stands in organic and

1. Heb. "my body"; reading with the Peshitta and Targum.

2. R.H.Charles, A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity from Pre-Prophetic Times till the Close of the New Testament (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1899), p.128. J.Klausner, The Messianic Idea in Israel, p.183, note 50 understands Isa. 26:19 as referring only to the immortality of the Jewish nation, and not to individual resurrection.

living relation to the present life in God, which the faithful enjoy on earth. And since the faithful alone stood in this relation, only the resurrection of the righteous was conceivably possible.

Sometime later in the book of Daniel we find this expression developed to the point where the wicked are also included, but here it is only the pre-eminently good and bad who rise. The majority of people remain in Sheol forever.

The rest of the Old Testament is not completely silent on the subject of resurrection. In a sudden outburst Job asks the question, "If a man dies shall he live again?" (14:14), and he speaks of how wonderful it would be, but he rejects it as too good to be true³. The Psalmist, from the midst of deep sorrow, cries out to God,

Dost Thou work wonders for the dead?
Do the shades rise up to praise Thee?
Is Thy steadfast-love declared in the grave,
Or Thy faithfulness in Abaddon?
Are Thy wonders known in the darkness,
Or Thy saving help in the land of forgetfulness?
(88:10-12)⁴

3. However D.H. Gard, "The Concept of the Future Life According to the Greek Translator of the Book of Job", JBL LXXIII, 1954, pp.137-143 points out that in various places the LXX gives a definite assertion of resurrection; e.g. 14:14, "For if a man dies he will live, having completed the days of his life; I will abide until I be born again" (cf. 4:20; 5:11). Cf. Th. Meek, "Job XIX 25-27", VT VI, 1956, pp.100-103.

4. Cf. R. Tournay, "L'eschatologie individuelle dans les Psaumes", RB LVI, 1949, pp.481-506 where he discusses the teaching of Psalms 16, 17, 49, and 73, and rejects the idea of any doctrine of individual resurrection. S. Jelllicoe, "The Interpretation of Psalm lxxiii.24", ET LXVII, 1956, pp.209, 210 understands that passage as teaching that God would take the author to heaven as He did Enoch.

But he knows the answer: it is here, in this life only, that God's grace and love will be experienced. Ecclesiastes takes an agnostic view of the future, "In the day of prosperity be joyful, and in the day of adversity consider. God has made the one as well as the other, so that man may not find out anything that will be after him" (7:14). Ezekiel's "valley of dry bones" (37) does not speak of individual resurrection, but is rather a symbolic picture of spiritual revival, accompanying of course the political restoration of Israel. It is the same "resurrection" as Hosea describes, "After two days He will revive us; on the third day He will raise us up, that we may live before Him" (6:2).

The reason for this phenomenon lies in the common Old Testament concept of the one within the many. The characteristic hope of the Hebrew was a general one, the community, rather than the individual. His mode of thought was the social group. Thus we read of the whole family, including future generations, suffering for the deeds of the individual. It is this concept which led Paul to say in Romans 5:12, "Therefore as sin came into the world through one man and death through sin, and so death spread to all men because all men sinned". In other words the whole human race, past, present, and future, shared in the same experience. All men sinned with Adam. So when we read in the Old Testament

that physical life in the new age would be the reward only of the remnant,⁵ we must remember that this is not exactly true, for in a real sense the whole family of Israel would have a part. It would be in what J. Pedersen describes as a "common soul" or "psychic stock",⁶ When the Old Testament man looked for an eschaton, or rather when he thought of the new age, there was no need of individual resurrection, for he would share in the restored kingdom as part of this "common soul". In the generation then living all Israel would enjoy the blessings of the new age. So, as S.B. Frost says, "while the Old Testament concepts dominated, there was no need of Heaven nor fear of Hell; the coming eschaton sufficed for both".⁷ When the Greek emphasis on the individual began to permeate Hebrew thought all this was changed. Personal resurrection became the burning hope of the apocalypticist. He would indeed share in the joys of the Messianic kingdom, only he personally would be there.

In the extra-canonical literature, covering roughly the period from 200 B.C. to 100 A.D., it is interesting to notice the breakdown of the Hebrew soul-flesh concept. To

5. Cf. Isa. 4:3, "And he who is left in Zion and remains in Jerusalem will be called holy, everyone who has been recorded for life in Jerusalem".

6. J. Pedersen, op. cit., I-II, p.475.

7. S.B. Frost, Old Testament Apocalyptic, p.243.

the mind of the Old Testament there was no real existence apart from the body. Body and soul formed a unit. As J. Pedersen says,

It is not the object of the (creation) narrator to analyse the elements of man, but to represent his essential character. The basis of its essence was the fragile corporeal substance, but by the breath of God it was transformed and became a nephesh, a soul. It is not said that man was supplied with a nephesh, and so the relation between body and soul is quite different from what it is to us. Such as he is, man, in his total essence is a soul.⁸

Thus in the earliest of the extra-canonical works (200-100 B.C.)⁹ this Old Testament idea is continued. The renewed life must be in a body. At least for the righteous it must be so. I Enoch 1-36 teaches the resurrection of both the righteous and the unrighteous who had not been punished in life. The former will rise in their bodies to eat of the tree of life (25:4-6), and enjoy lengthened lives on the purified earth (5:9; 10:7,16,20-22; 25:6). The latter would be raised to receive judgment and to be cast into Gehenna (27:20). In 72-90 only the righteous rise in a body, though afterwards they are transformed into some higher form of existence (90:33ff.). II Maccabees promises the martyrs that they will rise to a bodily existence in the Messianic

8. J. Pedersen, op. cit., I-II, p.99.

9. The dating of this literature is a very disputed question into which we cannot delve here. For the purposes of this study I have followed the dating in R.H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudopigrapha of the Old Testament in English.

kingdom. So the mother of the seven brothers says to one of them, "Do not be afraid of this executioner, but show yourself worthy of your brothers. Accept death, that in God's mercy I may receive you back again along with your brothers" (7:29). The Testament of Benjamin also looks for bodily resurrection. At the end time the first to arise will be Enoch, Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, then will come all the righteous, and finally all the wicked. In a description reminiscent of Daniel 12:2 it is said that the righteous will rise to "glory", the wicked to "shame" (10:6-10).¹⁰

When we read the writings of the first century B.C. and onwards we discover a change in emphasis. The old concepts give way to newer thoughts, foreign thoughts. Body and soul are more and more distinguished. Resurrection becomes spiritualized, though here and there the old idea appears. I Enoch 37-71 teaches the resurrection of the spirit which is clothed in a "glorious body" (62:16; cf. II Enoch 22:8-10). The Psalms of Solomon predict the resurrection of the righteous to live an eternal life with God in the spirit (3:16; 14:7; 15:15).¹¹ II Baruch 1-81 combines the old belief with the new by describing a temporary bodily

10. Cf. also Test. Levi 18:9-11; Test. Judah 25:4; Test. Dan 5:12,13.

11. Cf. also II Bar. 82-85; Ass. Moses.

resurrection of the righteous in the form they had at the moment of death (50:1ff.). Afterwards they will be transformed to live in a spiritual existence in heaven (51:3ff.). In a similar fashion I Enoch 91-104 teaches that the righteous will go to heaven at the end of the Messianic kingdom to share in the company of angels.¹²

It should be mentioned that not all the extra-canonical books teach resurrection. Some are silent on the matter, while Ben Sira has the normal Old Testament viewpoint concerning the finality of death. "For what pleasure has God in all that perish in Hades, in place of those who live and give Him praise? Thanksgiving perishes from the dead as from one who is not, (but) he that lives and is in health praises the Lord" (17:27,28).¹³

This in brief is the literary milieu of the Qumran Scrolls.¹⁴ How then do they fit into the pattern? Do they reflect an early or late tradition? Do they teach any

12. Cf. also Jubilees, IV Maccabees, Sib.Ora., Wis.Sol., IV Ezra.

13. Cf. Tobit 3:6-10.

14. In regard to Rabbinic teaching, C. Montefiore writes (in Montefiore and Loewe, A Rabbinic Anthology, pp. xlii, xliii), "The most obvious difference between the religion of the Rabbis and the religion, or rather the religions, of the Hebrew Bible, consists in the doctrine of the world to come. For what is alluded to in a single passage in Daniel, and in a single passage in Isaiah, had now become an accepted dogma, a doctrine of every day. There would be a resurrection and a judgment. Bliss for some, and punishment or annihilation for others".

resurrection at all? These are the questions to be answered.

A. The Psalms of Thanksgiving

It appears that, contrary to general apocalyptic belief, the authors of the Psalms of Thanksgiving hold out no hope for the dead. They accept and continue the Old Testament teaching that death is the end. The common theme is praise to God for saving the writer from death so that he would see and enjoy God's salvation. There is nothing comparable to the statement of the bereaved mother in II Maccabees that the grave will not hold its victims. On the contrary 1QH 5:5ff. says, "I thank Thee, O Lord . . . Thou hast rescued my life from the pit . . . for Thou, O my God, hast sheltered me from the sons of man, and Thy law Thou hast hidden within me, until the appointed time when Thy salvation is revealed to me". Not resurrection if he died, but rather preservation through the time of trouble. He thanks God for saving him from the pit. He praises the Lord for sheltering him from evil men who sought to destroy him. And he expects security "until the time when Thy salvation is revealed to me". He believes himself to be part of the righteous remnant who will enjoy the bliss of God's new age. He expects to remain alive to see the Lord's salvation. He will suffer; that is certain, but his afflictions will not cause his death. Rather, as we saw in chapter IV, he will come out of trouble refined, fit

for the new age. This is God's purpose in allowing his suffering.

Consider also 1QH 2:20ff., "I thank Thee, O Lord, for Thou holdest my soul in the bundle of life,¹⁵ and Thou sholterest me from all the snares of the pit . . . and by Thy steadfast-love Thou wilt save my soul". There is no willingness here to die because God would raise him at the last day, but rather in Old Testament fashion the author is grateful that God has kept him in the land of the living, in the company of those who would enter the promised land of the Messianic kingdom. 1QH 9:33 also omphasizes this by the phrase, "the keeping of Thy salvation (which will) deliver my soul".

There are three passages in the Psalms of Thanksgiving which might be construed as teaching the doctrine of resurrection. (1) The first is 6:29-34,

And then, at the time of judgment, the sword of God
shall come quickly,
And all the sons of His truth shall awake¹⁶ to
destroy . . . wickedness . . .
And those who lie down in the dust shall raise
a standard,¹⁷
And the worm of men shall lift up a sign,¹⁸

15. Cf. I Sam. 25:29.

16. עורר.

17. שוכבי עפר הרימו דגל.

18. ותולעת מחים תשא נס; cf. Isa. 41:14.

Making known that the wicked were cut off in the wars of the insolent.
 And the one causing the overwhelming scourge to pass over,
 Shall not enter into the fortification19

This passage does not speak of resurrection from the dead, but rather restoration from a down-trodden existence unto that of victory. (1) The reference to the righteous who shall "awake" does not speak of any rising out from the dead. The verb 717, "rouse oneself, awake", is well-known from the Old Testament as denoting a rousing to activity or to battle.²⁰ Thus Isaiah 51:9 reads,

Awake, awake (717 717), put on strength,
 O arm of the Lord;
 Awake as in days of old,
 The generations of long ago.

This is clearly the idea here. The sons of truth shall rise up in battle at the last day to destroy wickedness. It is obvious, as we saw in chapter IV, that the sect expected to do just that.

(2) The phrase that speaks of those who "lie down in the dust" and the "worm of men" refers to down-trodden

19. Cf. chapter IV, pp.155,156 for further notes on this passage.

20. Cf. Isa. 52:1; Psa. 7:7; 44:24; 59:5; 57:9; Judges 5:12; also Jubilees 23:30, "At that time (the new age) the Lord will heal His servants, and they will rise up and see great peace, and drive out their adversaries", where R.H. Charles, The Book of Jubilees (London: SPCK, 1917), p.132, note 6, says, "probably there is no reference here to resurrection".

dwellers on the earth. It is true that רַבֵּי הַדָּפֶן is used in the Old Testament with reference to those in the grave. So Job 21:26 says, "they lie down alike in the dust (בְּרַבֵּי הַדָּפֶן), and the worms cover them".²¹ However notice the following facts: (a) רַבֵּי is used in the Old Testament (Jer. 3:25) of lying down in the sense of humiliation or shame. (b) In the Scrolls similar, though not exact, phrases are used to connote people who are living on the earth. 1QH 3:13 speaks of the רַבֵּי הַדָּפֶן, literally, "dwellers of the dust", but in context quite clearly "dwellers upon the earth". 1QH 11:13 parallels רַבֵּי הַדָּפֶן by בְּרַבֵּי הַדָּפֶן, the latter term being a common one in the Scrolls as a designation of the righteous remnant. The passage from the War Scroll reads, "For by the hand of the poor Thou wilt encompass the enemies of all the earth, and by the hand of those who bow down in the dust (Thou wilt) bring low the warriors of the nations". This is exactly what 1QH 6:29-34 says! (c) The term "worm" is used in the Old Testament as a symbol of one who is insignificant. Psalms 22:7 relates, "But I am a worm, and no man; scorned by men, and despised by the people".²² (d) The

21. Cf. Job 7:21; 20:11. Isaiah 26:19 uses רַבֵּי הַדָּפֶן in the passage, "the dead shall live, their bodies shall arise. O dwellers in the dust awake and sing for joy". However Isaiah's "dwellers in the dust" are those living at the time to whom the author is giving comfort.

22. Cf. Isa. 41:14; Job 25:6.

parallel with Isaiah 30:17 puts this interpretation beyond doubt. It reads,

A thousand shall flee at the threat of one,
At the threat of five you shall flee,
Until you are left
Like a standard (יָמָן) on the top of a mountain,
Like a signal (דָּג) on a hill.

In this passage from Isaiah the same words יָמָן and דָּג are used as in LQH 6. Isaiah is concerned with a remnant being left, not the resurrection of the righteous. The author of LQH 6 is saying the same thing.

(2) The second possible resurrection passage is found in 11:10-14.

And because of Thy glory Thou dost cleanse a man
from transgression,
So that he may consecrate himself for Thee from
all abominations of impurity
And guilt of perversity,
In order to become a community [with] the sons of
Thy truth,
And with the lot of Thy holy people;
To lift up from the dust a worm of men²⁵ for the
secret of [Thy truth],
And from a perverse spirit for the understanding
of [Thy wisdom].
And to take his stand in the rank before Thee with
the host of eternity
And the spirits of [holiness],
To be renewed with all beings,
And with knowing ones in a community of song.

In these lines we meet again the phrases תולעת מתיים, "worm of men", and עפר, "dust". The context allows no doubt as

25. להרים מעפר תולעת מתיים.

to the meaning. The author is speaking of the action of God in cleansing a man from transgression so that he will be fit for inclusion in the righteous remnant. Man is taken out of the "dust", or rather his sinful state, and "renewed", or freed from sin, so that he might "take his stand" before God. "Dust" is in parallel with "perverse spirit". Notice the broken phrase in 1QHfrag 3:6, "a reservoir of dust, how shall I stand before the rush/ing/ wind?" Consider again the lines in 1QH 12:24,25, "And I, one from the dust . . . a fountain of impurity . . . a reservoir of dust". So also 1QH 13:14-16, "And what is one born of woman . . . he is a structure of dust, and a formation of water . . . his foundation is ignominious shame . . . and a perverted spirit rules within him". Therefore the author is not speaking of resurrection in this passage from 1QH 6, but rather of renewal or cleansing from sin.

(3) The final section to be considered regarding the problem of resurrection is 1QH 15:15-17.

And because of mercy Thou hast established him
for the season of favor,
To keep Thy covenant,
And to walk with all . . .
. . . upon him in the abundance of Thy mercies,
And to open all the distress of his soul²⁴ to
everlasting salvation and eternal peace;

24. לפתוח כול צרת נפשו; "open" in the sense of "setting free from" or "loosening"; cf. Ezek. 37:12,13; Isa. 41:18; Psa. 105:41; Job 29:19.

And there shall be no want,²⁵
 And Thou shalt lift up from flesh his glory.²⁶

The problem phrase is "Thou shalt lift up from flesh his glory". "Flesh" here is clearly sinful humanity. As the Lord says in Genesis 6:3, "My spirit shall not abide in man forever, for he is flesh". In Psalms 7:6 "glory" is used in parallel with "life", "Let the enemy pursue me and overtake me, and let him trample my life to the ground, and lay my glory in the dust" (cf. 16:9). This appears to be the idea behind "glory" in 1QH 15. At the coming of the new age (indicated by the phrase "there shall be no want") God will make man fit for entrance into it by changing his fleshly nature into glorified life. Then will be the time of "renewal" which we saw in 1QH 11:14.²⁷ Once again there is no resurrection indicated, but only cleansing unto a better life.

B. The Manual of Discipline

This scroll does not express any hope of resurrection. The teaching of 1QS 4:19ff. is that "at the season of visitation" God will refine the body of each righteous man, purging

25. Cf. Isa. 51:14; Psa. 23:1; 34:10,11.

26. תרם מנשר כבוד.

27. In light of this perhaps תרם, "his glory" should be read as תרם, "his cleansing"; cf. mNidd. 7:2.

by His truth all men's deeds, making them fit for the new age. There is no mention even of the resurrection of the righteous dead to share in the enjoyment of the future. IQS 11:13 says, "If He begins my affliction, even from the pit will He draw out my soul, and will direct my steps in the way". The author is not here speaking of resurrection, but rather expresses the belief that God will snatch him from the very jaws of death, including him in the remnant who would be kept through the tribulation. It is the same hope as that given in Psalms 16:9-11,

My heart is glad,
And my soul rejoices,
My body also dwells secure,
For Thou dost not give me up to Sheol,
Or let Thy godly one see the pit.
Thou dost show me the path of life,
In Thy presence there is fulness of joy,
In Thy right hand are pleasures forevermore.

C. The Zadokite Fragments

There is no definite teaching regarding resurrection in CD, though there is one passage which may give a veiled hint. CD 20:8-10 reads,

And like this is the case of everyone who despises the law among the former ones and the latter ones, inasmuch as they have set idols upon their heart, and have walked in the stubbornness of their heart, they have no share in the house of the Law.

Two questions face us here: What is the "house of the Law" (בית הדין), and, Who are the "former ones and the latter ones" (העבר וההווה)? Ch. Rabin, in his edition of the

Zadokite Fragments, suggests that the phrase "house of the Law" refers to the post-Messianic era of resurrection.²⁸ He quotes mAboth 3:15 where the sinner is told he has "no share in the world to come". In Ephosians 5:5 the sinner "has no share in the kingdom of Christ". The "house of the Law" would then be the Messianic kingdom, the time when God's Law would hold sway over all men. However the phrase is best understood as a reference to the righteous remnant, the sect of Qumran. They are known elsewhere as a "sure house" (CD 3:19) and a "house of truth" (1QS 5:6). The Torah was the core of their existence. The members had entered a "new covenant" to return to its observance. Night and day it was expounded orally (1QS 6:6,7).²⁹ The sect was in truth the "house of the Law".³⁰

28. Ch.Rabin, The Zadokite Documents, p.39, note 10.1.

29. W.H.Brownlee, BASOR 83 10-12, p.23, note 13, sees a background to this in Joshua 1:8, "This book of the law shall not depart out of your mouth". Perhaps there is also a relationship to the Rabbinic legend concerning the giving of the second tables of the Torah to Moses in heaven. During the forty days he was there it is said that Moses spent the day in learning the Torah from God, and the night in repeating what he had learned. This process was to be an example for Israel that they might occupy themselves with the Torah by night and by day (cf. L.Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, III, pp.140-143).

30. So also understood by W.H.Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation Among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls", EA XIV, 1951, p.58; L.Ginzberg, Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte, I, p.146, defines it as "die Zentrale der Sekte".

The second question concerns the meaning of "former ones and latter ones". In bBerakhoth 35b the two terms דורות קדמין and דורות אחרין are contrasted in the words, "The latter generations (ourselves) are not like the former generations". In other words the terms speak of the past and present generations. In CD דורות אחרין, "latter ones", is used in 1:11,12, "And (God) raised for (the remnant) Moreh Zedek to lead them in the way of His heart and to make known to the latter generations (דורות אחרין אחרים) that which He would do to the last generation". "Latter generations" here is quite clearly the present ones, the ones living. דורות קדמין, "former ones", is used a little further down (1:16) where it says that the faithless caused Israel to go astray because "they removed the landmark which the דורות קדמין had set up". Here it means the "forefathers". So in CD 3:10 the author writes, "through it דורות קדמין אשר היו אחראים ('the former members of the covenant', that is, 'the first members') became guilty and were given over to the sword". Thus in the Zadokite Fragments "former ones and latter ones" means just that---the past and present generations.

If Rabin is correct the implication of CD 20:8-10 would be that since the wicked of both the past and present will not have a share in the Messianic kingdom, therefore the righteous of both generations will. However this does not

appear to be the correct interpretation. The passage is not speaking of the future kingdom, but of the present regulations for the governing of the sect. Just prior in 20:2-3a the text gives directions for the exclusion from the sect of any man "who was loth to carry out the commands of upright men" (20:2). So in this section (20:8b-13) there is a similar rule for the person "who despises (the laws)" (20:8). He too is to be excluded from the sect, the "house of the Law". Indeed, says the author, this has always been the case in the community. The former members as well have been given "no share in the house of the Law" when they failed to obey the regulations. So, he continues in 20:13, the latter ones, the present members, will be ejected for rebellion. In fact their whole family will be punished in this manner---"they and their families will have no share in the house of the Law". The Old Testament concept of visiting the sin of a man "unto the third and fourth generations" is seen in this rule.³¹

So we see that this passage does not teach resurrection. Even if Rabin were correct, the doctrine is obscure. Resurrection was an integral part of the literature in the century preceding Christ. It was the great hope of the apocalyptist. In the New Testament the resurrection of the body is clearly

31. Jf. also Psa.Sol. 9:10.

stressed. Here, even if it is taught at all, it is vague and ill-defined.³²

D. The Habakkuk Commentary

In this scroll we also have no clear reference to resurrection. There is one passage that has been suggested to teach such a hope. 1QpHab 10:2-5, interpreting Habakkuk 2:10, reads,³³

'To cut off many peoples thou dost sin against thy soul'. It means thus: It is the house of judgment whose judgment God will give among many peoples; for from thore He will bring it up for judgment, and in their midst He will convict it, judging it with a fire of brimstone.

W.H.Brownlee suggests, "'The house of judgment' may be a body of men confined in a certain section of Sheol (or Hades) until they are raised 'from thore' and made subject to a final judgment of sulfurous fire (cf. Revelation 20:13-14)".³⁴ The "many peoples" would then be the righteous dead slain by the wicked. So the text would say that God will bring up from Sheol the "house" or group of evil ones and also the "many peoples". A resurrection of both the righteous and

32. I.Rabinowitz, "A Reconsideration of 'Damascus' and '390 Years' in the 'Damascus' ('Zadokito') Fragments", JBL LXXIII, 1954, p.17, sees a doctrine of resurrection in CD 4:4 where we read of the "elect of Israel" who (as he translates) "are to arise in the end of days", but cf. appendix B, pp.

33. Following the translation of W.H.Brownlee, BASOR 112, 1948, p.14.

34. Ibid., p.12, note 67.

the unrighteous. The judgment would take place "among" or "in the midst" (7107) of the righteous. They would be vindicated in the eyes of their enemies. What would happen to the righteous we are not told, but the wicked would be consigned to the fire of Gehenna, as in Revelation 20:13,14. In 1QpHab 8:2 the righteous are said to be "delivered from the house of judgment because of their toil and faith in the Teacher of Righteousness".

A. Dupont-Sommer however takes a different point of view.³⁵ He translates,

L'implication de ceci, c'est la maison de jugement; car Dieu rendra son jugement au milieu de peuples nombreux, et ensuite³⁶ il la traduira en jugement, et au milieu de ceux-ci il la déclarera coupable, et par un feu de soufre il la jugera.

In other words by translating the passage in this manner any reference to resurrection is destroyed. This appears to be the correct understanding, and the most natural rendering of the passage. The "house of judgment" is wicked Israel standing in opposition to the community of the New Covenant, the "house of the Law" (CD 20:10), the "sure house" (CD 3:19), the "house of truth in Israel" (1QS 5:6). The author

35. A. Dupont-Sommer, "Le 'Commentaire d'Habacuc' découvert près de la Mer Morte: Traduction et notes", RIE CXXXVII, 1950, pp.137,145,147.

36. As Dupont-Sommer points out (p.147) mwv does not mean "from there", but has rather a temporal sense.

is declaring that at the time of the oschaton God will pour out fire on the unrighteous.

E. St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll

D.Barthólemy finds a so-called "Messianic" variant in 1QIs^a 53:11 (also in 1QIs^b) where in reference to the Servant the text reads, "because of the toil of his soul he will see light and be satisfied".³⁷ The MT has merely, "because of the toil of his soul he will see (and) be satisfied". Although Barthelémy is not explicit, the implication would be that the additional 77K shows that the Qumran sect saw the resurrection of the Servant in this passage. He considers 1QIs^a to be the original text, pointing to the support of the LXX, δεῖξαι αὐτῷ φως.

A resurrection interpretation from Isaiah 53:11 is of course not new,³⁸ but even if the additional 77K is kept, it is difficult to see any teaching that the Servant will rise from the dead. Aside from the problem of identifying the Servant---an individual or a collective figure---there is the question of the meaning of 77K. To see "light" need not imply resurrection. Indeed the link is much better made with the

37. D.Barthólemy, "Le grand rouleau d'Isaïe trouvé près de la Mer Morte", RB LVII, 1950, p.547.

38. Cf. J.Skinner, The Book of the Prophet Isaiah. Chapters XL-LXVI (CBSC. Cambridge, University Press, 1929), pp.146,147.

"light" of Isaiah 9:2, "The people who walked in darkness have seen a great light; those who dwelt in a land of deep darkness on them has light shined". The Servant of Isaiah 53:11 would then be Israel who will "see" the success of their substitutionary suffering. They will dwell in peace once more. This is further emphasized by the immediately preceding context of 53:10, "(the Servant) shall see his offspring, he shall prolong his days; the will of the Lord shall prosper in his hand".

Even if an individual Servant is seen there need be no resurrection. Joh. Lindblom suggests that the idea of the passage is that the Servant will be able to see from Sheol what happens on earth, just as the dead Rachel was a witness of the disaster of her child, and wept because of that trouble (cf. Jor. 31:15). He will know that his work was successful, and will see that he has a great host of spiritual followers.³⁹ This would then be the "psychical whole" of which Pedersen speaks.⁴⁰ The Servant would not actually, physically rise from the grave, but yet in a real sense would be part of the restored Israel as included in

39. Joh. Lindblom, "Die Ebed Jahwe-Orakel in der neunten-deckten Jesajahandschrift (DS1a)", ZAW LXIII, 1951, pp. 246, 247.

40. J. Pedersen, op. cit., I-II, p. 475.

the "common soul".⁴¹ He would "see" the result of his work by living in his offspring.

In any case it is precarious to base a resurrection teaching on such a nebulous phrase as "he will see light". In Isaiah 26:19, where resurrection is taught, the text is clear, and not couched in obscure language. Here there is no such clarity.

The rest of the Scrolls make no mention of resurrection. In 1QM 16:11, as we saw in chapter IV, some of the righteous will die in the holy war. Why they will be killed is left to "the mysteries of God". Whether or not they will be restored to the company of the living is not discussed. 1QSa and 1QSB see no place for the resurrected righteous in the future kingdom.

In summary then there is no clear teaching about resurrection in the Qumran Scrolls. They stand in the tradition of the Old Testament. Death is the end of all. The cry from Sheol is, "Abandon hope all ye who enter here". It has been suggested that CD and 1QpHab indicate a resurrection belief, but we have seen that this cannot be maintained. It is admitted that the conclusions of this chapter are based to

41. Cf. supra, pp.189,190.

some degree on an argumentum e silentio. However in this case that is a significant point. What was a bright hope to the apocalyptist, was only at best a faint shadow to the writers of the Qumran texts, and therefore we must understand them as holding an Old Testament viewpoint.

CHAPTER VII

THE VIEW OF THE KINGDOM

The eighth-century prophets' conception of the Day of Jahweh became the turning point in the Israelitish view of the kingdom. We have already noticed how the prophets' message was opposed to the popular viewpoint concerning the nature of the eschaton. In like manner they brought a change in the concept of the kingdom. Before the coming of Amos the Hebrews looked for a general restoration of Israel to world-wide prominence. The center of the world would be Jerusalem. All the enemies of the Hebrews would be subjugated, and Israel would experience unbroken national prosperity. It was at best a semi-ethical expectation, pointing back to the old promises given to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob whereby Israel would one day be great and become a blessing to all mankind.¹ They believed in a quid pro quo relationship with God. Israel would worship Jahweh, therefore Jahweh would restore and protect Israel. It was as simple as that. They would perform the letter of the Law, they would be faithful in sacrificing and tithing, they would even go above and beyond the call of duty by sacrificing

1. Cf. Gen. 12:2,3; 17:2-6; 18:18; 22:17,18; 26:3,4; 27:29; 28:14; 32:12.

every morning and bringing their tithes every three days.² The heart attitude did not really matter; it was the fulfilling of the ritual requirements that counted.

The eighth-century prophets brought this popular opinion to a violent halt. God did not care about sacrifices and tithes if men's hearts were not changed. What He wanted was justice and righteousness (Amos 5:24), and because these things were lacking in Israel, the Day of Jahweh would bring punishment, suffering, and death. The kingdom would not be a simple restoration for Israel as a whole, but rather it would consist of a regenerated people living without sin or disobedience to the divine will. The kingdom would be the reward only of the righteous remnant.³ It is in this that

2. Cf. Amos 4:4,5; 5:21-23. The custom of paying the teruma is a very ancient one that had been practiced by most nations, Semitic and non-Semitic, for centuries prior to Amos. The Hebrews had this custom long before the institution of the Mosaic Law, as is shown by Gen. 14:17-20 and 28:22. But the sting of Amos' words in 4:4,5 lies not in "tithes", for this was lawful practice, but in "every three days". The Israelite knew from Deut. 14:28 and 26:12 that the tithe was to be only every three years. Amos' sarcastic words are of course a reference to the futility of mere external ritual. Incidentally this passage poses a problem for the date of Deut. 14 and 26, the only places in the Old Testament where this rule regarding tithing is found. If the Israelite knew the "three-year law" in the eighth-century, how much earlier must Deut. be? Of course Amos 4:4,5 may be called a gloss, but this seems to be dishonest scholarship, for the same problem is met in 2:4,7,8,12; 5:21-23; 6:6; 7:14,17; 8:5.

3. Cf. Isa. 13:9; Zeph. 3:12; Amos 9:9,10; Zech. 13:8,9; Mal. 3:16,17.

the difference lies, for basically the details of the kingdom would be the same. Nature would blossom with unimagined fertility. Life would be as it had been in the days of Adam. Israel would never again lose its place of prominence in the world. God would dwell on earth as the head of the new nation. So God says in Amos 9:13-15, "the mountains shall drip sweet wine, and all the hills shall flow with it. I will restore the fortunes of My people Israel . . . I will plant them upon their land, and they shall never again be plucked up out of the land which I have given them".⁴ To some of the prophets the blessings of this kingdom would extend only to the remnant, or at least that is their main concern.⁵ Others of the prophets had a wider vision and saw the Gentile nations converted and serving the Lord.⁶ But the point to be remembered is that at the close of the Old Testament there was a three-fold view of the kingdom--(1) it would be an eternal, earthly rule of God (the Messianic king is seldom mentioned), (2) only the righteous would inherit it, though the Gentiles would come under its suzerainty, and (3) nature would return to the days of Adam.

4. Cf. Isa. 4:5; 11:6; 43:19,20; Joel 2; Zech. 14:6-9; Hosea 14:5-8; Zeph. 3:14-20.

5. Cf. Amos, Hosea, Joel, Obad., Haggai, Ezek., Dan.

6. Cf. Isa. (19); Deutero-Isa., Jer., Zeph., Zech., Mal.

As is to be expected the extra-canonical books exhibit a variety of hopes. Some of them continue the expectation of the Old Testament prophets, that is, the righteous remnant would enter a kingdom of eternal duration on a purified earth. So I Enoch 45:4,5 says, "And I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light, and I will transform the earth and make it a blessing, and I will cause Mine elect ones to dwell upon it".⁷

Many of the books have a two-fold expectation regarding the future. Immediately following the eschaton there will be a temporary Messianic kingdom on the earth. At its conclusion a judgment will take place and the righteous will be transported to heaven to live eternally in the spirit.⁸ In IV Ezra 7 the earthly kingdom will last for four hundred years, after which everyone, including the Messiah, will die. Following a seven year silence, all men will rise to receive judgment or bliss. II Enoch describes the kingdom as enduring for one thousand years (32:2-33:2). The rest of the books are not explicit as to its length.

There are two works that hold out no hope for an earthly

7. Cf. I Enoch 1-36; 83-90; II Macc.; Tobit; Psa.Sol.; Test.

8. Cf. I Enoch 91-108; Sib.Ora.; Jubilees 23; II Enoch; IV Ezra; II Bar. 1-81; Wis.Sol.; also Rev. Cf. J.W.Bailey, "The Temporary Messianic Reign in the Literature of Early Judaism", JBL LIII, 1934, pp.170-187.

kingdom of any sort. The first is II Baruch 82-85, which takes a very pessimistic view of the world. There is to be a complete destruction of the universe on the day of judgment. The righteous will be spared, rising to the spiritual world of heaven. Chapter 85 in particular expresses this viewpoint: "What we have lost was subject to corruption, and what we shall receive shall not be corruptible" (85:5). The second book is the Assumption of Moses. After the destruction by God of the universe and of Satan (10:1ff.), Israel will rise to heaven and see her enemies in Gehenna: "And God shall exalt thee, and bring thee to the heaven of the stars, the place of His habitation, and thou shalt look from on high and behold thy adversaries in Gehenna" (10:9,10).⁹

So then basically there are three views of the future in the Old Testament and extra-canonical works: (1) an eternal earthly kingdom where there will be long life and great contentment. All nature will blossom forth with unbelievable fertility. The days of Adam will return. There will be peace among the wild animals. (2) There is no hope even for life on a renewed earth. God's kingdom will be in heaven,

9. R.H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, II, p.476, also includes II Bar. 10-25; 30; 32-35:1; 32:5-35; 41; 44:8-15; 47-52; 75; 85 as abandoning the expectation of a Messianic kingdom. Cf. N. Mes-
sol, Die Einheitlichkeit der jüdischen Eschatologie (Gießen: Töpelmann, 1915), pp.72ff., who believes that the kingdom is always an earthly one.

and His people will reign in a somewhat vague bliss forever and ever. The details are not clear. (3) A combination of the first two. At the end of the age, following the eschaton, there will be an interim period on earth, a temporary kingdom ruled over by the Messiah. After this another judgment will take place, and the kingdom will be transferred to heaven where the saints will live in unspeakable joy. This conception has what is called a "double-eschaton", a hope that becomes fully developed in the New Testament and in the Rabbinic literature.¹⁰

With this background in mind we may now turn to the Qumran Scrolls. Our purpose is to determine how they fit into this conceptual milieu. Do they set their hopes on an eternal, earthly kingdom, or have they moved out of the Old Testament and into the later double-eschaton point of view? Or still further do they stand in the company of II Baruch 82-85 and the Assumption of Moses, and see no place for an earthly reign?

A. The Psalms of Thanksgiving

This scroll is not very explicit in its description of the kingdom. All we catch are glimpses, yet there is enough

¹⁰. Cf. C. Montefiore and H. Loewe, A Rabbinic Anthology, pp. 581ff.

to give us a picture of what the authors were expecting.

(1).

. . . for Thy servants in faithfulness,
 . . . their seed before Thee all the days.
 And . . . Thou shalt raise . . .
 And to cast all their . . .
 And to give them an inheritance in all the
 glory of Adam,¹¹
 [And] a multitude of days. (17:14,15)

The familiar Old Testament hope of the restoration of Paradise is seen in these fragmentary lines. Life was to be as it was in the Garden of Eden; man was to return to the "glory of Adam".¹² As Isaiah 11:6 proclaims, "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid". Man shall have a "multitude of days",¹³ but his "seed" shall continue on forever.

(2).

They shall recount Thy glory in all Thy dominion,
 For Thou hast shown them that which . . .
 . . . of old,

11. מִן אָדָם; it is clear that the translation is "Adam", and not "man", not only from the general eschatological view of the Scrolls regarding the restoration of Paradise, but also from the parallel in Ben Sira 49:16, "Shem and Shet and Enoch are honored, but the glory of Adam surpasses that of any living being"; cf. P.Wernberg-Møller, "Some Passages in the 'Zadokite' Fragments and their Parallels in the Manual of Discipline", JSS I, 1956, p.120.

12. Cf. Test.Dan 5:12, "the saints shall rest in Eden".

13. מִן יָמֵי בָרָא; cf. chapter VIII, pp.250,251.

And to create new things;¹⁴
 To defeat¹⁵ the adversaries of old . . .
 Thou shalt glorify us . . .
 . . . and with delights,
 With everlasting peace and length of days.
 (13:11-18)

The author of this psalm indicates his hope of an eternal, earthly Messianic kingdom. He has the Old Testament expectation, for notice the following facts: (a) the phrase "to create new things" is related to the "new heavens and new earth" of Isaiah 65:17, and the restoration of the land of Israel;¹⁶ There is also a parallel with Isaiah 43:19,20, "Behold I (God) am doing a new thing (עֲשֵׂה דָבָר חָדָשׁ); now it springs forth, do you not perceive it? I will make a way in the wilderness and rivers¹⁷ in the desert. The wild beasts will honor me, the jackals and the ostriches; for I give water in the wilderness, rivers in the desert, to

14. עֲשֵׂה דָבָר חָדָשׁ; cf. 1QS 4:25, עֲשֵׂה דָבָר חָדָשׁ, "the doing of the new thing".

15. פָּשַׁל; Hiph. inf. const. of פָּשַׁל, "break, frustrate, make ineffectual"; cf. II Sam. 7:14; Psa. 33:10; Isa. 14:27.

16. Cf. 66:22,23; I Enoch 45:4,5. There is of course a similarity to the "world which will be renewed" of the Targumim (Targ. Micah 7:14; Onk. Deut. 32:12; Targ. Hab. 3:2), the "future world"; of IV Ezra 7:113, the καλινγενεσία of Matt. 19:28, and the οὐρανὸς καινὸς καὶ γῆ καινὴ of Rev. 21:1 (cf. also I Enoch 72:1; Jubilees 1:29; bSanh. 92b; 97b), however these works are referring to the "world" that will follow the second eschaton, not to the Messianic kingdom.

17. 1QIsa has נְתִיבִים, "paths", for the MT נְהָרוֹת, "rivers".

give drink to My chosen people". (b) The result of God's visitation will not only be to "create new things", but also to "defeat the adversaries of old". This is a manifest reference to the subjugation of the nations at the time of the Messianic kingdom. (c) Man will receive "length of days", the fulfillment of the promise of extended life in the new age given by Isaiah 65:20-22. (d) The duration of this dominion will be forever, for God will give "everlasting peace".

(3).

Sorrow and bitter wailing until the destruction of
evil,¹⁸
And¹⁹ there shall be no stripes to make sick,²⁰
And then I will make music on the lyre of salvation,
And (on) the flute praise without ceasing.²¹
And who among all Thy works is able to recount . . .
In the mouth of each one of them shall be praise
of Thy name for the ages of eternity.
They shall bless Thee with the mouth of . . .
They shall sound aloud together with the voice
of song,²²
And there shall be no sorrow or groaning or sin . . .
And Thy truth shall appear for eternal glory and
everlasting peace. (11:21-27)

18. Cf. Rom. 8:22,23. Written above this line is the addition by a later scribe, "And sighing on a lyre, a dirge for all the travail of"

19. From here on the psalm is the work of a later scribe.

20. Cf. Isa. 53:10.

21. Cf. Psa. 71:22,23; 98:4-6; 147:7.

22. Cf. Isa. 51:3.

There is no direct statement here regarding the locale of the expectation, but there are various hints. Notice the parallel with Isaiah's prophecy regarding the return of the remnant to the restored Israel (51:11), "And the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come with singing to Zion. Everlasting joy shall be upon their heads; they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and groaning shall flee away" (cf. 35:10; 25:8; Rev. 21:4). The reference to the return to a time when there shall be "no sin" is reminiscent of the sinless state of Adam before the Fall. Here is another indication of the recurring Garden of Eden motif in this scroll. This freedom from sin is paralleled in I Enoch 38:1, "When the congregation of the righteous shall appear, and sinners shall be judged for their sins, and shall be driven from the earth" (cf. 91:17).

(4).

. . . [an abund]ance of grain, new wine, and
fresh oil.
They shall increase a possession for themselves,²³
And an acquisition . . .
. . . a cloud upon the streams of water,
In order to increase leafage,
And to multiply boughs,
For Adam,
And to bring fatness to all the earth. (10:24-26)

23. Reading ויחיו ויחיו for ויחיו ויחיו. Aleph occurs elsewhere in the Scrolls in a similar position; cf. 1QpHab 2:6, ויחיו ויחיו.

The many lacunae are frustrating, but the thought of the author breaks through in spite of them. The eschaton will bring a renewed and agriculturally bountiful earth. Jahweh's promise to the penitents in Joel 2 is the background. "The Lord answered and said to His people, Behold I am sending to you grain, now wine, and fresh oil, and you will be satisfied" (2:19). Joel has further parallels in 2:23-26 where the prophet speaks of the new age as a time when "the vats shall overflow with wine and oil", and when "you shall eat in plenty and be satisfied". The mention of "Adam" also points to this concept.

(5).

For the spirit of man whom Thou hast formed in
the world,
For all everlasting days and eternal generations . . .
In their fixed times Thou hast apportioned their
work in all their generations,
And jud~~gm~~ent in its season unto . . .
. . . forever and ever.²⁴
And the visitation of their retribution²⁵ . . .
With all²⁶ their afflictions . . .
And Thou hast apportioned all their offspring
For a number of everlasting generations,
And for eternal years . . . (1:15-19)

24. Literally, "for generation and generation", לְדֹר וּדְוֹר.

25. מִשְׁפָּט וְנִקְמָה, translating according to the suggestion of Baumgarten and Mansoor, "Studies in the New Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns)-II", JBL LXXIV, 1955, p.189; cf. Hosea 9:7 where מִשְׁפָּט and נִקְמָה are in parallel.

26. There is a dittography of מִשְׁפָּט here.

In this promise of the perpetuity of the people of Israel we see a reflection of such as Isaiah 66:22, "For as the new heaven and the new earth which I will make shall remain before Me, says the Lord, so shall your descendants and your name remain". In the new age life would never end; a man would live and die, but his offspring would continue on.

(6).

I am comforted concerning the tumult of the people,
 And concerning the uproar of ki/ng/doms,
 In their gathering [together].
 I kn/ow that Thou shalt raise up for a little while
 A reviving²⁷ among Thy people,
 And a remnant among Thy possession.
 And Thou shalt refine them,
 Cleansing (them) from guilt.
 For all their works are in Thy truth,
 And in Thy steadfast-love Thou wilt judge them,
 In wealth of mercy and abundance of forgiveness;
 And Thou wilt guide them according to Thy words,
 :10 And according to the uprightness of Thy truth,
 To establish them in Thy counsel for Thy glory.
 And for Thy sake Thou hast made [them] po/ssess/
 direction,²⁸
 And [Thou hast instruct]ed²⁹ the men of Thy council
 in the midst of the sons of man,
 To recount to the generations of eternity Thy
 wonderful deeds,
 And regarding [Thy] mighty works [to rel]ate

27. מְחַיֶּה, "that which is alive", is clearly parallel to שְׂאִרִית, and appears to refer then to the remnant of revived people. Cf. Ezra 9:8 where מְחַיֶּה is in parallel with פְּלִטָה, a synonym for שְׂאִרִית. Perhaps it should be read as "community" or "band", as with חֵיה in II Sam. 23:13.

28. עָשִׂי תַחַת לִבְנֵי תוֹרָה.

29. וְהִשְׁכַּח תַּחַת.

without ceasing,³⁰
 And all nations shall know Thy truth,
 And all peoples Thy glory,
 For Thou hast brought Thy truth and Thy gl^ory³¹
 To all the men of Thy council,
 And among the lot³² (who are) associated with the
 angels of the presence,³³
 And there shall be no intermediary³⁴ for Thine
 assembly,
 And no mediator,³⁵

30. Cf. M. Wallenstein, "A Striking Hymn From the Dead Sea Scrolls", BJRL XXXVIII, 1955, p.258, note 4, for discussion of לאין השבט.

31. הביאותה /אמחה וכו' /ודעה.

32. Cf. 1QH 3:22, "and Thou hast allotted to man an everlasting portion (lit., "Thou hast caused to fall for man an everlasting lot") with the spirits of knowledge".

33. Cf. Isa. 43:9.

34. Point as מליץ בנים. The dual of בן is used in I Sam. 17:4,23 with reference to the space between two armies (cf. Goliath, איש הנני). Here I take it to mean "between God and the sect". מליץ carries the idea of "intermediary", as in Job 33:23 (cf. Gen. 42:23; Isa. 43:27; II Chron. 32:31). So in the above context the thought is that the sect will need no angelic mediation, as in Job 33, for they will have complete access to God. The sect will need no "go-between", no "interpreter between two people".

35. לק/הלכה ואין משיב כרו. For the root כרו, "call out, announce, call together", cf. Dan. 3:4; Est.R. 6:12; Dout.R. 4:4. M. Wallenstein, op.cit., p.259, note 1, rightly shows that משיב כרו appears to be a rendering of משיב דבר (Ezek. 9:11) where the reference is to an angel, "the man clothed with linen". He translates the phrase as "reporter". כרו is used above in the sense of "announcement, news" (cf. Lev.R. 6:2; mSanh. 6:1). Literally the phrase is "reporter of news", and appears to refer to an angel, one who proclaims God's will to men. So it is best to read "mediator", because of the parallel with the previous מליץ בנים. This is certainly not the Gnostic doctrine of a series of angels between God and man. Also notice that in Tanh.Mishp. 19 כרו is used in reference to Job 33:23 and the mediatorial work of angels (cf. Jastrow, I, p.665).

For [they are the as/sem/bly of Thy couns[el]].³⁶
 And they shall speak³⁷ according to the word of
 Thy glory,
 And they shall be Thy princes with the lo[t of
 the angels],³⁸
 :15 Sprouting as a blos[som of the field] forever³⁹
 and ever,
 (And) causing a shoot to grow the foliage⁴⁰ of an
 eternal planting,⁴¹
 And it will give shade upon all,
 [And its top shall reach] unto the hea[vens],
 [And all]⁴² its roots unto the deep,
 And all the streams of Eden [will irrigate]
 its bou[ghs],⁴³
 And it shall be a [tree . . .]⁴⁴ unsearchable,

36. [חנן כהן] [ע] ל[קח] כי, suggested by M. Wallenstein,
op. cit., p.247.

37. Reading ש'יו with Wallenstein, loc. cit. (against
 Sukenik, 'Otzar, ad loc., ש'יו) as elliptical for ש'יו דבר;
 cf. Hab. 2:1; Job 13:22.

38. Cf. Joshua 5:14,15; Dan. 10:13; 12:1 where angels
 are called "princes". Here again we see the theme of the
 equality of the sect with angels. Cf. also CD 6:3-6 where
 the midrash on Num. 21:18 finds the members of the sect called
 "princes".

39. פרח כצ'י השדה ע'ד עולם, reading פרח as an inf. abs.

40. Plural construct of Aramaic עפ'א; Syriac ܥܦܝܐ; cf.
Psa. 104:12 (עפ'א; Qere עפ'ים).

41. The reference is clearly to the sect as a "planting",
 and not as Wallenstein, op. cit., p.259 has "(in) an over-
 lasting planting-place". Cf. IQH 8:6; IQS 8:5,6; CD 1:7,8;
Isa. 60:21.

42. [ויגיע ראשו] עד ש[מים וכול].

43. [ישקו ד] ל[ותיו], according to M. Wallenstein, op.
cit., p.247.

44. [] ויהיה ל[עץ].

And its shoots⁴⁵ shall spread continuously over
 the world,
 And unto Sheol.
 It shall be a source of light,
 An eternal fountain without failing.
 In the flames of its brightness all the sons of
 perversion⁴⁶ shall be burned . . .
And it shall be a fire burning up all men of
 guilt unto destruction.
 And they, the yoked of my testimony, were persuaded
 into . . .
 . . . in the service of righteousness.
 :20 And Thou, O God, hast commanded them to benefit
 from their ways,⁴⁷
To walk in the way of Thy voice.⁴⁸
 And the uncircumcised and unclean and licentious
 shall not pass over it,
 For they have broken away from the way of Thy heart,
 And in destruction . . . they long,
 For a wicked counsellor is in their heart,
And they devise⁴⁹ evil devices;
 They shall wallow in guilt.

I am as a mariner in a ship,
 In the raging of the seas.
 Their waves and all their breakers roar against me
 (with) uncontrollable vehemence,⁵⁰
And there is no⁵¹ place to restore the soul,
 And there is no path for a smooth way upon the face
 of the waters,
 And the deep roars with my groaning.

45. וּבְדִיל ערו על חבל; Sukenik, !otzar, ad loc, does not transcribe ערו, but it is plainly visible.

46. בְּנֵי הָעוֹלָה.

47. Cf. Isa. 48:17.

48. בְּדִירָךְ קְוִלְכָּה לִכְתּוּבָה.

49. וַחֲשִׁבוּ.

50. Following M.Wallenstein, op. cit., p.261.

51. וְאֵין.

- And I have reached⁵² unto the gates of death,
 :25 And I am as one entering into a fortified city,
 And taking refuge on a high wall,
 Until (the time of) deliverance.
 I will lean upon Thy truth, O my God,
 For Thou dost place a foundation upon a rock,
 And a support⁵³ upon the line of justice,
 And a level of truth,
To be tried stones for a strong structure,⁵⁴
 So that it may not be shaken.⁵⁵
 And all those entering into it shall not totter,
 For no stranger shall enter into it;
 Its gates are protecting gates,
 For no one shall enter.
 And (it has) strong bars,
 For they shall not break down.
 A troop shall not enter in with its weapons of war,
 With the destruction of all . . . wars of
 wickedness.
 For then, at the time of judgment, the sword of
 God shall come quickly,
 And all the sons of His truth shall awake to
 :30 destroy . . . wickedness . . .
 And they shall keep away (the enemy) from border
 to border . . .
 :35 And the one causing the overwhelming scourge to
 pass over,
 Shall not enter into the fortification.⁵⁶
 (6:7-35)

In this important passage we are given clear proof that the

52. וַיָּבִיחַ.

53. כַּפִּי, translated "rafter" in Hab. 2:11, is taken here in the sense of its root meaning, "to bind, secure". Cf. BB.Met. 117a, "girder"; Targ.Est. 1:6; Jastrow, I, p.659.

54. The whole section reads וַיָּבִיחַ אֶת הַבָּנִים וְאֶת הַבָּנוֹת וְאֶת הַבָּנוֹת וְאֶת הַבָּנוֹת
וְאֶת הַבָּנוֹת . . .

55. וַיָּבִיחַ; Hithpalpel of וַיָּבִיחַ cf. IQH 7:9.

56. Cf. pp.155,156 for notes on the latter part of this passage.

sect expected an eternal, earthly kingdom. They shared the belief of the Old Testament prophets. The references to the restored Israel and to the renewed Jerusalem are unmistakable. (a) The righteous remnant will have direct access to God. No angels will stand between them, for the men of God's covenant will be associated with "the angels of the presence". The righteous will have no need of "intermediary" or "mediator". Yet all this takes place on the earthly sphere. As Zechariah says, "The Lord will become king over all the earth; on that day the Lord will be one and His name one" (14:9). God will dwell on a renewed earth in the midst of a people whom He will "refine", so that they will be "cleansed from guilt" (cf. Zech. 13:9).⁵⁷ The sect will be God's witnesses in the new age. It is there that they will become an "eternal planting". (b) The metaphor of the returned remnant as a tree is familiar from such as Hosea 14:5-8, "I will be as the dew to Israel . . . his roots shall spread out . . . they shall return and dwell beneath his shadow".⁵⁸ (c) "A source of light, an eternal fountain without failing" is clearly Isaiah 60:19,20, "The sun shall be no more your light by day . . . but the Lord

57. Cf. infra, pp.261-263 for further discussion of this concept of God dwelling on earth.

58. Cf. Ezek. 17:23,24; Psa. 80:9-12; Rev. 21:22-24.

will be your everlasting light, and your God will be your glory".⁵⁹ (d) "Sprouting as a blossom" is seen in Isaiah 27:6, "In days to come Jacob shall take root, Israel shall blossom and put forth shoots, and fill the whole world with fruit". (e) "The uncircumcized and unclean and licentious shall not pass over it" points to Isaiah 35:8, "And a highway shall be there, and it shall be called the holy way; the unclean shall not pass over it".⁶⁰ (f) The references to the "line of justice", the "level", the "tried stones", and the "overwhelming scourge" are all seen in Isaiah 28. (g) "All nations shall know Thy truth, and all peoples Thy glory" is Ezekiel 38:7, "the nations shall know that I am the Lord".

The conclusion to be made from these passages is that the authors of the Hodayot envisioned the glorious restoration of Israel with all its sensuous pleasures. They expected an eternal, earthly kingdom, for the "Paradise Regained" is clearly not heavenly. It is true that most of the "double-eschaton" works exhibit this same Garden of Eden motif for the temporary Messianic kingdom (cf. II Bar. 73). Yet in those books it is made clear that another form of

59. Cf. Isa. 24:23; 60:1-3; Zech. 14:7; also 1QHfrag 9:7, "in the habitation of Thy glory".

60. Cf. Isa. 52:1; Rov. 21:27.

existence awaited man at its conclusion. There is no hint in the Psalms of Thanksgiving that the Messianic age would end in a second judgment. The writers saw no end to God's reign on earth, though man would enjoy merely a "multitude of days" (17:15)

B. The Zadokite Fragments

The Fragments are not very clear in regard to the kingdom. For the most part we must determine the teaching more from the whole atmosphere of the texts, rather than from any definite statement. However a few passages shed some light on the problem. (1) The first is CD 3:18-20,

God in His wonderful mysteries forgave their iniquity and pardoned their impurity, and He built them a sure house⁶¹ in Israel, the like of which has not stood from of old even until now. They that hold fast to it are for the life of eternity, and all the glory of Adam is theirs.

Once again the Garden of Eden theme appears. These lines are not speaking of a heavenly existence. The man who enters the "sure house" in Israel will share in the glories of the restored kingdom on earth, a time when man's sensuous desires will be satisfied.

(2) In a very fragmentary section we catch the words, "will not be fit to dwell in the land". Ch. Rabin has

61. יבנה נ'א; cf. appendix A, pp.29-32.

reconstructed the lines as follows,⁶²

Thus far the (order) of the meeting of the camps for the whole [epoch of wickedness, and they that will not hold fast to the] so will not be fit to dwell in the land [when the Messiah of Aaron and Israel comes in the end of days]. (13:20-22)

Here there is no doubt that the author looked forward to an earthly kingdom. He expected to "dwell in the land". The length of that rule is not mentioned.

(3) A final passage to be considered is CD 20:25,26. There is nothing said about the kingdom, but perhaps we can infer something from the words "glory of God". It reads,

But as for all those members of the covenant who have broken out of the boundary of the Torah, when the glory of God shall appear unto Israel, they shall be cut off from the mi[dst] of the camp.⁶³

The expectation of the coming of the "glory of God" is paralleled in Isaiah 4:5, "And Jahweh shall come upon all the dwelling-place of Mt. Zion, and upon all its surrounding land, (in) a cloud by day and smoke, and (in) the shining of a flaming fire by night; and over the glory of Jahweh a canopy".⁶⁴ In this passage from Isaiah the "glory of

62. Ch.Rabin, The Zadokite Documents, p.66.

63. Cf. 1QM 12:7,8,10; 1QH 6:12,17.

64. Translation by W.O.E.Oosterley, The Evolution of the Messianic Idea, p.200.

Jahweh" denotes Jahweh's presence upon Mt. Zion. The belief in the dwelling of God on earth is quite probably behind the reference in the CD passage. S.B.Frost has some significant words in this regard.⁶⁵

One influential thought was that the New Age would be a return of the primal Golden Age, life as it was in the Garden of Eden before This Age began. There would be peace among animals, the desert would flower like a garden and there would be abundance without labour, while physical defects and war and death would be banished for ever. Above all, Yahweh would be in the midst of his people.⁶⁶

The rest of the scroll speaks of the future in typical prophetic fashion, and from this we can draw a parallel to the concept of an eternal, earthly kingdom. God is using the nations to punish Israel (8:11), He will pour out His wrath (8:3), a remnant will be saved (7:21; 20:18-20), and the Messianic age will be a time when the Law will be obeyed (20:10) and sin forgiven (20:34; 14:19). There is never anything mentioned that would suggest that the earthly kingdom would come to an end. Indeed the promise in CD 19:6 is that "the covenant of God shall stand fast with them to keep them alive for thousands of generations". The hope of CD is an Old Testament hope.

65. S.B.Frost, Old Testament Apocalyptic, p.21.

66. The underlining is mine.

C. The Manual of Discipline

The strongest statement regarding the kingdom is found in IQS 4:18-26. It reads,

God, through the mysteries of His understanding and through His glorious wisdom, has appointed a period for the existence of perversity, but at the season of visitation, He will destroy it forever, and then the truth of the world will appear forever. For it has wallowed⁶⁷ in the ways of wickedness under the dominion of perversity until the season of the decreed judgment.⁶⁸ And then God will purge by His truth all the deeds of (each) man, refining for Himself the body of each man in order to consume every evil spirit from the midst of his flesh⁶⁹ and to cleanse him through the Holy Spirit from all wicked practices, sprinkling upon him the Spirit of truth as purifying water, to cleanse him from all untrue abominations and from wallowing in a spirit of impurity, in order to give the upright insight into the knowledge of the Most High, and into the wisdom of the sons of heaven, to give the perfect of way understanding. For God has chosen them for an eternal covenant, so that theirs is all the glory of Adam. And there will be no perversity, and there will be put to shame all works of deceit. Until now the spirits of truth and perversion strive within man's heart; they walk in wisdom and folly, and according as man's inheritance is in truth and righteousness, so he hates evil, but according as his heritage is in the lot of perversity and wickedness in him, so he abominates truth. For God has set them in equal parts until the period of the decree, and the doing of the

67. הלללללל; cf. line 21; II Sam. 20:12. G. Lambert, "Le Manuel de Discipline du désert de Juda", ALBO II, fasc. 23, 1951, p.27, translates, "ello rampe"; W.H. Brownlee, BASOR 88 10-12, p.16, has "it has been defiled", although also suggesting the use of "wallow".

68. הנהגה נכונה; cf. line 25, הנהגה נכונה; also supra, p.84, note 27.

69. Cf. chapter IX, pp.416ff. for further discussion of this section.

new thing. And He knows the action of their deeds for all the periods of their striving⁷⁰ and He apportions them to the sons of man in order that they may know good and evil.

This is Golden Age eschatology. Notice what will take place:

- (1) Evil will be destroyed (:18,19,23)
- (2) Man's body will be purified (:20,21)
- (3) The Holy Spirit will be poured out (:21)
- (4) The righteous will be given complete knowledge of God (:22)
- (5) The glories of Adam will be restored (:23)

There can be no question that this is an earthly hope. It is called "the doing of the new thing" (הַעֲשֵׂת הַחֲדָשׁ), a clear parallel to Isaiah 43:19 and 1QH 13:11,12.⁷¹ The earth will be cleansed of evil-doers, sin itself will be destroyed, and man will dwell in the presence of God. It will be the time of Ezekiel's pouring out of the Spirit.⁷² Nature will produce as in the days of Adam. Though the passage does not state the length of the kingdom, the whole tenor is that earth will be the everlasting abode of the righteous, for "God has chosen them for an eternal covenant" (:22).⁷³

70. Reading יִבְחֶה with W.H.Brownlee, op. cit., p.18, note 52.

71. Cf. supra, pp.218,219.

72. Cf. Ezek. 36:25-27; 39:29; Joel 3:1,2; Isa. 32:15; 44:3.

73. 1QS 4:6-8 has a further description of this kingdom, but the details concern more the problem of immortality, so cf. infra, pp.264ff.

There is another passage to be considered. The whole legislation in 1QS 8:4-9:11 has meaning only if an eternal, earthly kingdom is seen. 1QS 8:9 says, "A most holy abode belongs to Aaron with eternal knowledge to enact laws and to offer up an agreeable odor". 1QS 8:5,6 reads, "The council of the community will have been established in truth as an eternal planting, a holy house for Israel, a most holy institution for Aaron". There is no mention made of a future judgment when all Israel would be transported to heaven. It is bodily, earthly life to which the author looks forward, a time when the sect would be the center of the spiritual life of the nation, a period when they would be the judges of the people (cf. Isa. 1:26).

The ordinary Old Testament man, if he had read the kingdom expectation of 1QS, would not have been surprised, for he held the same hope---a restored earthly paradise that would endure forever.

D. The War Scroll

This scroll is of course primarily concerned with the coming eschaton battle. However the result of that conflict is described here and there. Perhaps column 19 gives the clearest picture of the kingdom, even though the text is somewhat fragmentary.

Fill thy earth with glory, and thy inheritance with praise . . . thy temples; O Zion rejoice exceedingly, and give praise all ye cities of Judah . . . might of nations, and their kings shall serve thee . . . [O daughters of my people pour forth with the sound of a glad shout; deck yourselves with glorious adornments . . . and Israel (shall be) an eternal kingdom. (19:4-8)⁷⁴

Israel is to reign forever on earth; she is to have an "eternal kingdom". The surrounding nations will serve her. The Hebrew people will regain the glory they once knew. This earthly hope is emphasized in 1QM 13:7 where the covenantal promises made to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are seen as soon to be fulfilled for "their seed", the righteous remnant. God will be faithful in making Israel a great nation. It is the continuation of the Old Testament hope. 1QM 13:7 reads, "And a covenant Thou hast made with our fathers, and Thou wilt establish (it) for their seed for the periods of eternity".

The conversion of the nations and the dominion of Israel is seen in an obvious reference to Ezekiel 38:23.

For by the hand of the poor ones Thou wilt encompass [the ene]mies⁷⁵ of all the earth, and by the hand of the bowers down in the dust (Thou wilt) bring low the mighty ones of the peoples, in order to return the recompense of wickedness on the head of the gu[il]ty of the nations⁷⁶, and to exercise

74. Cf. 1QM 12:13,14 for an almost identical parallel to this passage.

75. יב[י] [א]ר[ץ].

76. [א]ר[ץ] הַגּוֹיִם הַרְשָׁעִים.

the judgment of Thy truth among all the sons of men, and to make for Thyself an eternal name among the people . . . and to magnify Thyself and to cause Thyself to be hallowed before the eyes of the remnant of the nations, so that [they will] know [that Thou art the Lord]⁷⁷ . . . judgments against Gog and against all his congregation, the ones assembled against [you].⁷⁸ (11:13-16)

There can be no doubt that this passage expresses the general Old Testament expectation of the return of Israel to her land, and the setting up of her dominion over all the earth.

The whole teaching of the War Scroll is couched in Old Testament ideas. God will pour out His wrath on the wicked (11:17), the righteous Israelites will conquer their enemies (1:1ff.), the exiles will return to Palestine (1:3), and, as we have seen above, Israel will be an eternal kingdom (19:8), subjugating the surrounding nations (12:13,14; 19:6).

E. The Rule of the Congregation

In these two columns there is nothing said about the kingdom. However, as with the previous scrolls, we are able to determine the future hope from the broad context. The columns relate the details of the sect's life, the requirements for admission, the rules of conduct and seating, and various other matters. Included in these is the prohibition

77. This section reads, שָׁמַר הַגִּבּוֹרִים לְדַעְתָּם כִּי־אֵתָּה יְהוָה .

78. הַנִּקְהָלִים לְעִלְיָנָם .

against an imbecile taking his stand "in the war to humble the nations" (1:21). Later in column 2 we notice regulations regarding the seating of the warrior Messiah and his troops at certain functions of the sect. Finally in 1:3 the members of the sect are described as those "who have kept his covenant in the midst of wickedness in order to atone for the land".

The picture in 1QSa is an Old Testament one. The righteous will overcome the wicked nations and set up the dominion of Israel. They will procure God's favor "for the land". If the land is to be destroyed, and the saints to go to heaven, there would be no need of atoning for the land. It is obviously the restoration of Israel that is expected here. There is no mention of the length of the kingdom, but since the future is viewed in the manner of the Old Testament, we would expect it to be eternal.

F. The Benedictions

This scroll continues the Old Testament emphasis of 1QSa, only here we are given many details. There can be no doubt---the kingdom is to be on earth and it will last forever. Israel's enemies will be destroyed, for God "will fight at the head of your thousands . . . in order to humble many peoples to yourself" (3:6,17). The Messianic prince will "put to death the wicked" by the breath of his lips (5:24,25), ruling with knowledge, righteousness, and

faithfulness (5:25,26). God will renew the covenant of the community "in order to establish the kingdom of His people forever" (5:21).⁷⁹ The dominion of Israel's king will extend so that "all the peoples will serve" him, because God has established him "for the sceptre of rulers" (5:27,28). The priesthood will be returned to its former glory, for God will renew "the covenant of eternal priesthood" (3:26).⁸⁰ To the priest God promises "by your deeds He will judge all the nobles, and from that which goes out from your lips all the princes of the people" (3:27,28), and that "He will delight in the odor of the smoke of your sacrifices" (3:1). The high priest will be "a diligent servant in the royal temple, sharing . . . communal deliberation with the holy ones forever and ever, and for the periods of eternity" (4:25,26). The descendants of the righteous will be "forever" (2:28; 3:4).

The final scroll, the Habakkuk Commentary, does not speak of the kingdom. All that is suggested is that the elect will bring God's judgment on all the nations (5:3), probably an indication of the earthly Messianic dominion over the Gentiles.

79. Cf. the broken phrase in 1QSb 3:5, "peace forever He will give to you, and a kingdom"

80. Cf. Num. 25:13; Ex. 40:15; Ben Sira 45:15,24.

The view of the kingdom as given in the Qumran Scrolls is a uniform one. The Old Testament prophetic hope is the basis---the righteous remnant will possess the kingdom where paradise will be restored and nature will flower with great fertility. Sin, want, and hardship will be banished from the land. The Gentile nations will serve the renewed Israel.

This interpretation, however, raises a problem. If the kingdom is to be eternal and is to have its locale on the earth, what about the life span of those who inhabit it? Would they too live forever? We have seen hints of the solution to this in the reference to the fact that the "seed" of the righteous would live forever. However in the previous discussion I have purposely neglected to elaborate on another concept that has appeared, and have reserved the problem of personal immortality until the last, so that we might first see the Scrolls' teaching concerning resurrection and the locale and duration of the kingdom. With these things in mind we are in a better position to assess the evidence. In the Scrolls it is said that those who enter the kingdom will somehow share in the company of the angels. This is described as taking one's stand "in a rank with the host of holy ones" (1QH 3:21,22) or "sharing the lot with the angels of the presence". (1QSh 4:26; cf. 1QS 11:8). Some have interpreted these words as a reference to a spiritual existence in heaven. Whether or not this is correct exegesis is a question that will be answered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

THE QUESTION OF IMMORTALITY

The Old Testament man wanted desperately to believe in immortality, but was never quite able to extricate himself from the traditional Sheol doctrine. The grave would eventually claim the righteous and unrighteous alike, and that would be the end of it. Here and there we see an author straining at the thought, yet never quite finding the words to express his hope. The Psalmist above all longed for a never-ending fellowship with God. His communion, his intense experience could not, or at least should not, come to an end when days were through. But at best his hope was indefinite. In Psalm 41:13, after praising God for deliverance from his foes, the writer says, "Thou hast upheld me because of my integrity, and set me in Thy presence forever". Yet in context it is clear that this does not mean immortality or another life beyond death. The old familiar belief appears rather in the preceding verse that the success or failure of the present life was an indication of one's righteousness or wickedness. "By this I know that Thou art pleased with me in that my enemy hast not triumphed over me". After death there were no rewards or punishments, no everlasting bliss or eternal torture, only semi-existence in the choking dust of Sheol.

It was in this life, in this body, that he would find his enjoyment. So the Psalmist says, "I believe that I shall feast my eyes on the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living" (27:13). His hope was for continued life, prolonged life, for thus only could he enjoy God. It was this fulness in the present existence for which he craved because the certainty of death was always before him: "Thou turnest man back to dust, and sayest, Turn back O children of men" (Psa. 90:3).

Yet the faithful heart could not be still, and from time to time it burst forth with the hope that somehow, perhaps there was to be something beyond death. Sheol was not outside the scope of God's power.

Whither shall I go from Thy Spirit?
 Or whither shall I flee from Thy presence?
 If I ascend to heaven, Thou art there;
 If I make my bed in Sheol, Thou art there.
 (Psa. 139:7,8)

Elsewhere we read the Psalmist longing to "dwell in Thy tent forever" (61:5), and knowing that "God is the strength of my heart and my portion forever" (73:26). But once again context tells us that these do not mean "eternal" in our sense of the word. The Psalmist could not yet make the break. The Sheol belief, however, was being questioned, and though still holding the minds of men, it could not contain their hearts.

Immortality never did find a real place in the teaching of the Old Testament because for the Hebrew there was no such thing as life without the body. At death there was no spirit which continued in a future state. Sheol was the abode only of D'NEH. And so when the hope of a future life does gain clear expression we find not immortality, but rather resurrection. Wah and Wah reunited; complete man. No doctrine of incorporeal immortality will suffice.¹ There must be resurrection, and to the earth, to the sphere where once man had known sorrow. For since it was in this world that he had met humiliation, his vindication must be here as well. Thus Daniel proclaims, "Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt" (12:2).

1. Psa, 73:24 has been claimed to show a definite belief in immortality. W.O.E. Oosterley, Immortality and the Unseen World (London: SPCK, 1921), p.220, calls it "the zenith of the Old Testament teaching" on the subject. It reads, "Thou dost guide me with Thy counsel, and afterward Thou wilt receive me to glory". However "glory" does not here refer to a heavenly existence. The writer is talking about the peace that will be his after great suffering. Though verse 26 refers to the wasting away of the body, a possible reference to death, as Gunkel points out (Die Psalmen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1926), p.320), the problem of the prosperity of the wicked in this psalm would not need to have been mentioned if the author was certain of retribution after death. He is speaking of this life, not an existence after this life. Job 19:25,26 has also been used to show a teaching of immortality, cf. Oosterley, op. cit., pp.215ff., but cf. R.G. Macintyre, The Other Side of Death (London: Macmillan, 1920), pp.35ff.

But the boldest statement in the Old Testament is made by Isaiah.

He will swallow up death forever, and the Lord God will wipe away tears from all faces, and the reproach of His people He will take away from all the earth, for the Lord has spoken. (25:8)

As S.B.Frost says,

Where the Sheol doctrine had held sway (if not unchallenged, at least never openly disputed) for centuries, and where the experiential religion of the Psalmist had given birth only to tentative hints, and where the deepest wisdoms of the Wise Men---as in Job and Ben Sirach---had turned back in reverent despair, there this apocalypse suddenly and without any preparation blurted out the truth for which all Jewry had been waiting: 'Yahweh is Lord of Death as well as Life'.²

Here in Isaiah it is true that there is no link with resurrection, but a few verses later (26:19) the matter is put beyond doubt.

At this point a question is raised: Isaiah promises that death will be swallowed up "forever" (עלמל), and Daniel speaks of "everlasting life" (חיי עולם). Are we to take them literally? One cannot be sure, but notice the following facts. (1) The Psalmist, as we have seen, uses "forever" (עלמל) in a relative sense. (2) Elsewhere in the Old Testament both עולם and עולם have a temporal meaning when referring to human lives and their extent. So the

2. S.B.Frost, Old Testament Apocalyptic, pp.153,154.

Psalmist says (74:1), "O God why dost Thou cast us off forever (עלמנו)?", and the rule for the slave who refuses freedom from his master (Ex. 21:6) is that his ear shall be bored, and "he shall serve him for life" (עלמנו).³

(3) It is significant that Isaiah does not say that Sheol will be destroyed. It appears that the wicked will still be there, for only the righteous are resurrected. (4) This "swallowing" of death affects the whole world; both Jew and Gentile, believer and unbeliever, will receive the benefit. (5) The locale of Isaiah's promise is on the earth, and as we shall see, neither the Old Testament elsewhere, nor the extra-canonical literature, teach the immortality of the body on the earthly sphere. Is it not possible then that the author is merely saying what Isaiah 65:20 says, "the child shall die an hundred years old"? A long life in the new age, so long in fact that Isaiah can not see its limits, and indeed it appears to be that death is swallowed up, but eventually Sheol will be every man's abode.

This same interpretation may well be placed on Daniel

3. Cf. Lev. 25:46; Deut. 15:17; I Sam. 1:22; 27:12; Job 34:36; 40:28; I Kgs. 2:33; II Kgs. 5:27; Psa. 44:24; 49:20; 52:7; 73:12; 74:10; Jer. 35:6; also H.W. Robinson, Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament, pp. 113ff. for a good discussion of עולם, ענין, and ענין; also E. Jenni, "Das Wort 'Ölām im Alten Testament", ZAW LXIV, 1953, pp. 197-248; LXV, 1954, pp. 1-35; N. Messel, Die Einheitlichkeit der jüdischen Eschatologie, pp. 44-54; D. Winton Thomas, "The Use of ענין as a Superlative in Hebrew", JSS I, 1956, pp. 106-109.

12:2. As R.H.Charles says (commenting on this verse), "It is not improbable, likewise, that after the special class of righteous Israel have enjoyed 'an aeonian life' in the kingdom, they will descend finally and for ever to Sheol".⁴

The point I wish to bring out for the study at hand is that one must be careful in equating these terms---עלמל, עולם, עולם---with their literal meaning, especially when referring to the extent of human lives. The apocalyptist, as indeed the Hebrew in general, was fond of the extreme phrase ---trees clapping their hands, mountains dancing like lambs (cf. I Enoch 51), and even the phrase we met earlier, "destruction without remnant" is to be understood as hyperbole. Thus we must view the words for "eternal life" with caution. This is especially evident from the extra-canonical literature. I Maccabees 14:41 says, "Simon should be their governor and high priest forever until there should arise a faithful prophet". The word "forever" is εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, which in the Hebrew original was probably עולם ועולם, "forever until". The phrase is a paradox if "forever" is meant in the timeless sense of the word. Consider also the use of "eternal life" in I Enoch 1-36. In 10:10 it is said that

4. R.H.Charles, A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity, pp.181,182.

"eternal life" equals five hundred years. "And no request that (the fathers) make of (Gabriel) shall be granted unto their fathers on their behalf, for they hope to live an eternal life (ἄλῶν + ἡλῶν), that is, that each one of them will live five hundred years". In 10:5 it equals a period of seventy generations. In the Sibylline Oracles (3:50) the Messianic king is to reign "for all ages", but a few lines later a destruction of all men is foretold (3:53-56, 60, 61). So in II Baruch 40:3 "his kingdom shall stand forever until the world of corruption is at an end".

The extra-canonical writings abound in references to the eternal life of the righteous and the everlasting punishment of the wicked. But nowhere is the immortality of the righteous taught when the mode of existence is in a body, and the sphere of life is on earth. It is only when the Hebrew mind, imbued with Greek thought, separates the soul from the body, or gives man a "spiritual" body, and raises the plane of existence to heaven that real immortality appears. In II Baruch 49-51 there is a bodily resurrection to earth, but it is only for a short period in order to renew acquaintances, for afterwards the righteous will be given a glorious body and transported to heaven. In I Enoch 1-36 resurrection is to earth for "length of days", and quite clearly means long life, not eternal life (cf. 10:17; 25:6). In chapter 58 it is heavenly existence in a glorified body

that is taught. In 91-104 the spirit is resurrected to immortality in heaven. Jubilees promises a lengthened life on earth of a thousand years (23:27), though it is said that men will "rejoice with joy forever and ever". After death immortality is promised for men's spirits (23:31). The Assumption of Moses, II Enoch, the Psalms of Solomon, II Maccabees, III Baruch, and Adam and Eve all look for the immortality of the soul in heaven. IV Ezra envisions a temporary Messianic kingdom, followed by death for everyone. Then there will be a resurrection of the righteous to heaven. The Testament of Levi 18:8 reads, "for (the new priest) shall give the majesty of the Lord to his sons in truth forevermore, and there shall none succeed him for all generations forever". But it is clear that this refers to the perpetuity of the priestly office, and not to the immortality of the priest.⁵

In summary then immortality in the Old Testament was a dream that would never come true. In moments of great emotion men spoke of it, but their training in the concepts of their fathers was too complete. Man could live forever, it is true, but it would be in his descendants. This was the reason for the strong desire for a "seed" that is met

5. Cf. I Macc. 14:41; R.H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, II, p.315.

in the Old Testament. So Psalms 102:29 promises "the children of Thy servants shall dwell secure; their seed shall be established before Thee". The reward of the righteous in Psalms 25:13 is that "he himself shall dwell in prosperity, and his seed shall possess the land".⁶

In the extra-canonical literature immortality emerges here and there as the lot of the righteous, but only in the heavenly sphere.⁷ If the writer saw earthly life for man, as with Daniel, it would morely mean "extension of days". He called it "everlasting life", and indeed it was when compared with "three-score years and ten", but "everlasting life" meant "until" the renewed body had returned to dust.

What then was the hope of the writers of the Qumran Scrolls? Did they dream with the same fervor as did the Psalmist? Did their thoughts soar to the heights of the heavens as did those of the apocalypticist? Throughout the Scrolls there appear such phrases as "overlasting peace", "eternal life", and "the ages of eternity". We have seen that these terms must be viewed with caution. The Hebrew was not always careful to be literal, and if my interpretation

6. Cf. Psa. 112:1-6; 132:1-12; Isa. 56:5; Ben Sira 41:6-13.

7. So also in the Rabbinic literature; cf. C. Montefiore and H. Loewe, A Rabbinic Anthology, pp. 580ff.

is correct, always meant "long life" when referring to earthly, bodily existence in such a manner. In any case the important thing to remember is that we cannot rely solely on these expressions to give us the writer's true thoughts. Context must always be our final court of appeal, and to that we turn at this time.

A. The Psalms of Thanksgiving

It is manifest from the previous chapter that the writers of these psalms looked for an earthly new age of eternal duration. There would be no resurrection so that past generations could share in its glories. The remnant alone would enter and enjoy this time of blessedness. But in their renewed bodies would they be immortal, or did they go further and conceive of a spiritual immortality after death? There are two problems that we must deal with here: (1) the use of "timeless" vocabulary with reference to human lives, and (2) the promise of an association with the angels.

(1) 1QH 4:21,22 says, "those who are according to Thy soul shall stand before Thee forever, and those who walk in the way of Thy heart shall be established for eternity". 1QHfrag 7 speaks of "everlasting rejoicing in His established place". 1QH 6:10-12 says, "And Thou hast instructed the men of Thy council in the midst of the sons of man to recount to the generations of eternity Thy wonderful deeds, and

regarding Thy mighty works to relate without ceasing". In 1QH 11:24,25 all God's works shall have "praise of Thy name for the ages of eternity". The writer of 1QH 15:16 is sure that God will "open all the distress of his soul to everlasting salvation and eternal peace". A little further down in the column (15:24) he says that the chosen "shall serve Thee forever".

The question at this point is---are we to understand these terms literally or figuratively?⁸ It would seem that all of these expressions must be understood in the hyperbolic sense of 1QHfrag 4:17, "I will bless Thy name continually". The writers are using poetic license. This appears certain, for elsewhere we are given more explicit statements. (a) 1QH 13:18 looks for "everlasting peace and length of days". The peace would be everlasting, perhaps, but man would have only an extended period on earth; nothing more. As Proverbs 3:1,2 says, "But let your heart keep My commandments for length of days and years of life". Or Psalms 23:6, "I shall return to the house of the Lord for length of days".⁹ (b) 1QH 17:14 sees the "seed" of the faithful "before Thee all the days". The familiar Old Testament concept is seen of

8. Cf. the discussion of אֱלֵי in the Scrolls by J. Coppens, "La secte de Qumran et son attente eschatologique", NC V, 1953, pp.5-9; E. Jenni, op. cit., 1953, pp.247,248.

9. Cf. Deut. 30:20; Job 12:12; Psa. 91:16; 93:5.

immortality in one's seed, one's descendants, and not of one's self. (c) 1QH 17:15 promises that God would "give (the righteous) an inheritance in all the glory of Adam and a multitude of days". The words מִבְּרַךְ 177, "multitude of days", remind us of the Golden Age of which Isaiah 65:22 prophesies, "like the days of a tree shall the days of My people be, and My chosen shall long enjoy the work of their hands". Not eternal life, only long life. So I Enoch 10:17 says, "and (the righteous) shall live until they beget thousands of children, and all the days of their youth and their old age shall they complete in peace", and 25:6, "(the elect) shall live a long life on the earth". (d) 1QH 1:18,19 relates that God has "appointed all their offspring unto a number of eternal generations, and unto all everlasting years". It is the immortality of the line, not of the individual that is being taught. (e) The author of 1QH 9:34 looks for God to support him "unto old age". The Psalms of Thanksgiving were written at a time when the eschaton was to come at any moment, and so the implication here is that in the extended life of the new age the writer looked for God's strength until the day he died.

Thus the Psalms of Thanksgiving are strictly Old Testament in their view of immortality. They caught the spirit of the Psalmist when they looked for fellowship with God to

last "forever", yet they remained bound to the belief that one day the body must die. There is no immortality, for we do not even find the blunt expression of Isaiah that death will be "swallowed up", nor the promise of I Enoch that "their garments will never grow old". Their future life remained tied to the earth, and to earth they would one day return. As 1QH 10:3,4 says, "what indeed is man . . . to dust is his return". So 1QH 12:24-26 proclaims, "and I, one from the dust . . . a fountain of impurity . . . a reservoir of dust, and from a generation of darkness, and returning to dust; a figure of clay" (cf. frag 4). It is probably true that these expressions have reference to the present, pre-kingdom age, but they undoubtedly apply to the future as well, for as we have seen, not only does the scroll hold the Old Testament Sheol belief, but also there is no hope of resurrection. The grave is man's final resting-place.

(2) There is a recurring theme in 1QH (as in the other Scrolls as well) which has caused some scholars to see a heavenly existence for the righteous, and therefore immortality. This concerns the promise of an association with the angels.

I thank Thee, O Lord,
For Thou hast redeemed my soul from the pit,¹⁰

10. Cf. Job 33:28; Psa. 16:10,11; 103:4; 1QH 5:6.

And from Sheol Abaddon¹¹ Thou hast brought me up
to an everlasting height,¹²
And I walk in complete security,¹³

11. Or is this "Sheol of Abaddon", with "Abaddon" the name of the chief angel of Sheol? Cf. Rev. 9:11. For a similar phrase cf. Psa. 30:4; Hosea 13:14.

12. For the use of the term "height", or a similar word expressing loftiness, as a reference to the returning remnant dwelling in security, cf. Jer. 31:12; Ezek. 17:23; 20:40; 34:14; Zech. 14:10 (cf. also Isa. 33:14-16). The expression לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד does not occur in the Old Testament, though the term "everlasting hills" is found in Gen. 49:26; Deut. 33:15; Hab. 3:5; cf. 4QpPsa. 37 (2:11) where the righteous "will inherit the mount of the height of Israel" (cf. J.M. Allegro, "A Newly-Discovered Fragment of a Commentary on Psalm XXXVII from Qumran", PEQ, 1954, p.72).

13. וְאֶחָדָה בְּמִישֹׁר לֹא יִשְׁׁקֵץ, literally, "And I shall walk to and fro on a level place which is unsearchable" (the Hith-pa'el of לֵב here of course may be translated as "live"; cf. I Sam. 2:35; 12:2; 25:15; Gen. 24:40). The meaning of the phrase is not too clear. M. Wallenstein, Hymns From the Judean Scrolls (Manchester: University Press, 1950), p.15 reads, "And I shall walk in the unsought level places", although suggesting (p.16, note 5) the possibility of reading לֵב as an adverb with וְאֶחָדָה, "I shall walk uprightly". A. Dupont-Sommer, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p.72 reads, "then I wandered on an endless plain". F. Cross, Jr., "The Newly Discovered Scrolls in the Hebrew University Museum in Jerusalem", BA XII, 1949, pp.44,45, translates the latter part "an unsearchable plain", interpreting it as "in complete freedom". J. van der Ploog, "L'immortalité de l'homme d'après les textes de la Mer Morte", VT II, 1952, p.171, reads, "Et je me promène dans une plaine immense", seeing in this phrase the description "d'une sorte de champs Elysées" (p.174). לֵב, "unsearchable", is describing a place whose boundaries are impossible of being determined by the author, or in other words, where there is complete freedom of movement. Cf. Psa. 27:11, "Teach me Thy way, O Lord, and lead me on a level path because of mine enemies" (also 18:20; 31:9; Isa. 26:7); 1QH 6:30,31, "He shall open the besieged . . . to a broad place without end" (also 2:29); Psa. 40:3, "He drew me up from the desolate pit, out of the miry bog, and set my feet upon a rock, making my steps secure". Perhaps the phrase should be translated "eternal security"; cf. 1QS 11:11-13, "If I totter God's dependable mercy is my salvation forever . . . even from the pit He will draw out my soul and will direct my steps in the way".

And I know that there is hope¹⁴ for him whom Thou
 hast formed from the dust for an eternal assembly,
 And a perverse spirit Thou hast cleansed from a
 great transgression,
 So that he¹⁵ might take his stand in a rank with
 the host of holy ones,¹⁶
 And so that he might enter into community with the
 congregation of the sons of heaven.¹⁷
 And Thou hast allotted to man an everlasting portion
 with the spirits of knowledge,¹⁸
 In order to praise Thy name in a community of s[on]g,¹⁹
 And so that he might relate Thy wonders before all
 Thy works. (3:19-23)

With this passage in mind M.Black suggests that "there can be no doubt however that, as contrasted with Sadducean doctrine, the Zadokites did believe in a doctrine of immortal or eternal life".²⁰ He understands by this that "immortal" included both body and soul. A.Dupont-Sommer, on the other

14. הִיטָה. M.Wallenstein, op. cit., p.16, note 6, reads "abode", from הִיטָה, "gather, collect"; cf. also his note in "Some Lexical Material in the Judean Scrolls", VT IV, 1954, p.214. However in 1QH the word appears to be equivalent to הִיטָה; cf. 9:14 where הִיטָה is in parallel with הִיטָה; also cf. I Chron. 29:15; Ezra 10:2; Jer. 14:8; 17:13.

15. The author speaks of himself in the third person.

16. For "holy ones" as a reference to angels, cf. Job 5:1; 15:15; Zech. 14:5; Psa. 89:6,8; Ben Sira 42:17; I Enoch 9:5; Test. Levi 3:3; Psa. Sol. 17:49.

17. For "sons of heaven" or "sons of God" as designations of angels, cf. I Enoch 6:2; 13:8; 14:3; Job 1:6.

18. Cf. 1QS 4:22.

19. Reading הִיטָה; cf. 1QH 11:14.

20. M.Black, "Theological Conceptions in the Dead Sea Scrolls", SEA XVIII-XIX, 1953-1954, p.82.

hand, understands the passage as teaching the immortality of the soul alone.²¹ He translates, "and from Sheol-Abaddon Thou hast brought me up again to the top of the world. Then I wandered on an endless plain; and I knew that there was hope for him whom Thou hast formed from the dust (and destined) for the eternal Assembly". The phrase "top of the world" he sees as reflected in the Essene belief that "the soul, once detached from the ties of the flesh . . . takes its joyful flight towards the heights" (cf. Josephus, Wars, 2:8:11). The "endless plain" he refers to the heavenly Elysian fields of Pythagorean and Essene belief (cf. Josephus, loc. cit.).²²

Dupont-Sommer's "Elysian Fields" theory, and Black's interpretation of immortality, are at best extremely doubtful. The author is not here referring to the future, to a bodiless existence in heaven or to any form of immortality. He is thanking God for delivering him from some present difficulty,

21. A. Dupont-Sommer, op. cit., p. 72. If this is true it would add further evidence to the statement of R. Marcus, "Pharisees, Essenes, and Gnostics", JBL LXXIII, 1954, p. 161, that the Qumran Scrolls, though accepting Pharisaic teaching in the main, were influenced from non-Jewish sources (chiefly Iranian Gnosticism) more deeply than Shammaite and Hillelite Pharisaism, for as I have pointed out, the ancient Hebrew conceived of the body and the soul as a unity.

22. J. van der Ploeg, op. cit., pp. 171-175, also sees in the psalm a belief in the immortality of the soul, suggesting that the sect found this interpretation in Psa. 16:9-11; 41:16; 73:22-28.

from a time of suffering, and for protecting him from his enemies and making his way secure. Notice the phrases more closely. (a) "Thou hast redeemed my soul from the pit, and from Sheol Abaddon Thou hast brought me up . . ." is exactly what the writer of 1QH 5:6-11 says, "Thou hast rescued my life from the pit . . . Thou hast sheltered me from the sons of man". Death would have meant going to the pit or Sheol, but God delivered him from that fate. This mode of expression is paralleled by Psalms 16:9-11, "My heart is glad, and my soul rejoices, my body also dwells secure, for Thou dost not give me up to Sheol, or let Thy godly one see the pit. Thou dost show me the path of life". Neither the Psalmist nor the author of 1QH meant anything "eschatological" by what they said, as van der Ploeg believes. It is simply an expression of praise to God for His protecting care amid the heavy persecutions that we know were heaped upon the sect.

(b) The phrase "everlasting height" is not a reference to heaven, but rather connotes the security enjoyed by the author.²³ This is patent not only from the Old Testament use of "height" to describe safety from danger (cf. note 12, p.253), but also especially from the use of the same phrase

23. Cf. J. van der Ploeg, "rûm (ôlām", VT III, 1953, pp. 191,192 for further discussion of "eternal height".

in 1QSb 5:23, where regarding the "prince of the congregation" it is said, "May the Lord lift you up to an everlasting height, and as a strong tower on a high wall". There is obviously no "heavenly" reference here.

(c) The words לְכָל־עַמִּי are not to be understood in the literal sense of Dupont-Sommer's "endless plain", but rather in view of context they stress what F. Cross has interpreted as "complete freedom" (cf. note 13, p. 253), or as I have translated "complete security". As the Psalmist says (27:11), "load me on a level path (לְכָל־עַמִּי) because of mine enemies".

(d) Reference is especially made by those who see a hope of immortality in this psalm to the fact that the author claims that the righteous will "take his stand in a rank with the holy ones", and will "enter into community with the congregation of the sons of heaven". It is granted that the language here is rather bold, and seems to posit a heavenly existence. However it must be remembered that this is a psalm, and as with the Old Testament Psalter, the language cannot always be made to "walk on all fours". I suggest that the author is promising equality with the angels in respect to knowledge and access to God, but strictly on the earthly sphere. Notice first of all three passages from 1QH.

All nations shall know Thy truth,
And all peoples Thy glory,
For Thou hast brought Thy truth and Thy glory

To all the men of Thy council,
 And among the lot (who are) associated with the
 angels of the presence;
 And there shall be no intermediary for Thine
 assembly,
 And no mediator,
 For they are the assembly of Thy counsel,
 And they shall speak according to the word of
 Thy glory,
 And they shall be Thy princes with the lot of
 the angels,
 Sprouting as a blossom of the field forever
 and ever.²⁴ (6:12-15)

As I pointed out in the previous chapter, where I discussed this passage with reference to the sect's view of the kingdom, the author is claiming that the righteous remnant will have direct access to God in the kingdom age. The men of God's council will be associated with the "angels of the presence"; they will need no "intermediary" or "mediator". Yet, as I have shown, the passage is clearly describing these things as taking place on the earthly sphere. There is a manifest duality of equality with angels and yet of an existence on the earth. The two take place at the same time. So we can understand such lines as,

And those who are according to Thy soul shall
 stand before Thee forever,²⁵
 And those who walk in the way of Thy heart shall
 be established for eternity. (4:21,22)

24. Cf. supra, pp.223,224 for notes on this passage.

25. Cf. 1QS 11:17, "Just as Thou wert pleased that the elect of mankind should stand before Thee forever".

So that he (the redeemed man) may take his stand
 before Thee with the host of eternity,
 And (with) the spirits of [knowledge],
 To be renewed with every being,²⁶
 And with the knowing ones in a community of song.
 (11:13,14)

It is not a heavenly existence that is promised here, but rather an earthly in which man is cleansed from his guilt, is "renewed", and thereby able to stand before God. The theme is clearly that of Ezekiel 37:27,28, "My dwelling-place shall be with them, and I will be their God, and they shall be My people. Then the nations will know that I the Lord sanctify Israel, when My sanctuary is in the midst of them forever".²⁷ God will dwell with Israel in the New Jerusalem, and men will have free access to Him. W.O.E.Oosterley, in commenting on Isaiah 2:2-4, writes,²⁸

It is a point to be particularly noted that the ruler during the peaceful and happy time to come is Jahwe; this is strictly in accord with what was to be expected . . . for in almost every form of the antecedant myth the "Heilbringer" who helps his people, dwells among them, and is of a Divine-human nature. In the passage we are considering the words are no doubt meant to be taken in a metaphorical sense, but the idea that lies behind them is that of Jahwe dwelling on His mount and receiving all who come to Him, in order to teach them personally. It is here that the adaptation of pre-existing myth-material

26. Cf. pp.198,199; also the parallel in II Bar. 32:1-6.

27. Cf. Rev. 21:3; Zech. 2:11; 14:9.

28. W.O.E.Oosterley, The Evolution of the Messianic Idea, p.199.

comes out so clearly. The people had been for centuries intimately acquainted with this floating material, and this prophet, so vastly superior to them in spiritual discernment, seeks to articulate a higher teaching.

It is therefore also in this sense that we must understand the fragmentary references to "everlasting rejoicing in His established place" (frag 7:5), and "(he shall) stand before Thee . . . in the everlasting habitation, to shine (as) a perfect light²⁹ forever and ever. And darkness shall pass away³⁰ . . . without end, and times of praise without

29. לְאוֹרְךָ. The word לְאוֹרְךָ is unique to the Scrolls, and occurs in only two other places (1QH 4:6,23), each time with lamedh. Perhaps then the phrase above should be considered as a dittography, and read as לְאוֹרְךָ. Sukenik, Megillot Genuzot II (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1950), p.33, and Dupont-Sommer, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p.74, note 3; consider the word as the singular of אוֹרִים וְחַיִּים. So Dupont-Sommer renders the phrase as "destiny", a parallel to the heimarmenē of the Greeks. However "destiny" does not fit the context of the passages in 1QH, especially the one above. In a later note Dupont-Sommer reads לְאוֹרְךָ, "au point du jour", suggesting a pseudo-dual formation on the analogy of צֶהְרֶיךָ, "midday" and עֶרְבֶיךָ, "evening" (cf. "Contribution à l'exégèse du Manuel de Discipline X 1-8", VT II, 1952, p.235, note 2. I suggest that the word was simply coined from חַיִּים, "completeness" and אוֹר, "light", and is not directly related to אוֹרִים וְחַיִּים. So translate 4:6, "and as the dawn ready for a complete light (or, 'as an established dawn, for a complete light') Thou hast appeared to me", and 4:23, "and Thou hast appeared to me in Thy strength for a complete light". I. Sonne, "A Hymn Against Herotics in the Newly Discovered Scrolls and its Gnostic Background", NUCA XXIII (Part I), 1950-51, pp.289,293, translates 1QH 4:6, "as the sure morning Thou hast dawned upon me to be a light to them" (reading לְאוֹרְךָ as standing for לְאוֹרֶיךָ, and having the same meaning as לְאוֹרֶיךָ), seeing an expanded paraphrase of Isa. 42:6, and thus a reference to the Servant.

30. וְעֵינֶיךָ ; cf. 1QHfrag 2:11, "And there shall be no return of darkness".

ce/asing/" (18:28-30).

The strongest proof for this argument is in 1Q5b where the description is paralleled, and where the whole thing is clearly earthly. In the blessing on the priests in 1Q5b 4:24-28 we read,

You will be as the angel of the presence in the habitation of holiness to glorify the God of host/s, a service forever, and you will be/ a diligent servant in the royal temple, and sharing the lot with the angels of the presence, and communal deliberation with the holy ones forever and ever, and for the periods of eternity, for /true are all His wor/ds. And He will place you as holiness among His people, and for a /great/ lamp /to shine/ to the world in knowledge, and to illumine the face of many /in the wisdom of life, and He will place you/ a consecrated one for the Holy of Holies, for /you will be set/ apart for Him, and you will glorify His name and His holiness.³¹

There can be no doubt about the locale of this passage. It is on earth, in the restored kingdom, in the New Jerusalem, where the righteous ones will be "sharing the lot with the angels of the presence, and communal deliberation with the holy ones forever and ever". The references to the "royal temple", "a great lamp to shine to the world", "holiness among His people", and the "Holy of Holies" are unmistakable. Perhaps there is some relation to Zechariah 14:5, where it

³¹. Reading the lacunae according to Barthélemy and Milik, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I. Qumran Cave I, p.126.

is said that at the time of the end "the Lord my God will come, and all His holy ones with Him".³² When God sets up His throne in the New Jerusalem, His angels are seen as being here as well. Of course there would be no actual physical presence, yet Zechariah viewed it in that way. So with the authors of the Hodayot passages under discussion. In the restored Zion God and His angels would be here in a real sense. As God's chosen people the sect would have direct access to Him. They would then be standing in the company of the "host of holy ones".

Further evidence for this view is found in Zechariah 3:7. In this third vision the high priest Joshua is standing before the "angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right hand to accuse him" (3:1). The message that the אֱלֹהִים gives to Joshua is, "Thus says the Lord of hosts, If you will walk in My ways, and keep My charge, then you shall rule My house and have charge of My courts, and I will give you walkings among those who stand". The clear implication is that Joshua, as high priest, is to have mediatorial access to Jahweh on an equality with that of the angels. The language is quite parallel to that of the Scrolls. Joshua was to walk with the angels, yet this did not mean he was to

32. Reading "Him" with the LXX, Vulgate, and Peshitta, instead of the MT "you".

have immortal life. Is this not the same hope as expressed by the Qumran sect? As G.A.Cooke writes, "According to Old Testament ideas of the blessed future, man is not translated to dwell with God, but God comes down to dwell with man, and His Presence transforms earth into heaven".³³

The scroll of the Benedictions also shows us that "in the lot of the angels" means equality of knowledge as well. In the blessing on "the wise man" the text reads,

God shall bless you /from His holy habitation,
and/ an eternal spring He shall open for you from
the heavens which shall not dr/y up . . . / And He
will favor you with all the bless/ings of the heavens,
and He will rain upon yo/u with the knowledge of the
holy ones. (1:3-5)³⁴

So also we read in 1QS 4:22 that in the kingdom age God will "give the upright insight into the knowledge of the Most High, and into the wisdom of the sons of heaven, in order to give the perfect of way understanding".³⁵

We must conclude that 1QH does not conceive of immortality for the righteous either in the body or in the soul. As we would expect they used the timeless expressions of the Biblical Psalms. This is "implicit in any real fellowship

33. G.A.Cooke, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel (ICC. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1936), p.404.

34. Reading the lacunae with Barthélemy and Milik, op. cit., p.120.

35. Cf. CD 20:4; 1QS 11:6-9; 1QM 17:8 for similar expressions.

with God".³⁶ But their real beliefs were centered in the Old Testament doctrine of Sheol.

B. The Manual of Discipline

In this scroll we find the promise repeated to the righteous of "eternal peace", "eternal knowledge" (2:4), "salvation forever" (11:11), "eternal planting" (8:5), but here, as in 1QH, the future life would be in an eternal, earthly kingdom where men would be given an extension of days.

The visitation of all who walk by (the Spirit of truth) consists in healing and abundant peace during length of days, and to bear seed with all everlasting blessings and eternal rejoicing in the life of eternity, and a crown of glory together with a raiment of majesty in eternal light. (4:6-8)³⁷

W.H.Brownlee sees a doctrine of immortality in this passage, suggesting a comparison with the New Testament idea of a "spiritual body" and I Enoch's "garments of glory". But is there a comparison? I think not! The whole section refers to the lot of the righteous in the new age as the result of God's atipso. This "visitation" is undoubtedly the eschaton, for immediately following this (1QS 4:18,19) it reads,

36. H.W.Robinson, Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament, p.118.

37. Following the translation of W.H.Brownlee, BASOR SS 10-12, pp.14-17.

God, through the mysteries of His understanding and through His glorious wisdom has appointed a period for the existence of perversity, but at the season of visitation (וְיָבֹא יְיָ) He will destroy it forever, and then the truth of the world will appear forever.³⁸

It is quite clear then that the author is speaking of the events which will transpire following the oschaton, and not as J.Coppens says, partially in this age and partially in the age to come.³⁹ Notice what will take place. (1) The first result will be "healing" (שְׁרִיטָה), that is, in the sense of Isaiah 53:5---cleansing from sin.⁴⁰ Perhaps further than this, as Dupont-Sommer notes,⁴¹ שְׁרִיטָה here designates physical healing as well. All men, under the empire of the evil spirit, are plagued by sickness and suffering. When the righteous are delivered from sin at the time of God's visitation (4:18-20), both physical and moral healing will be their reward.

(2) The next promise is for "abundant peace during length of days" (וְשָׁלוֹם וְאֶרְכָּתַיִם לְכָל הַיּוֹם). We have already seen

38. Cf. 4:11-14; also 1QM 12:4,5 where God is seen as coming to earth in the final days "to visit (וְיָבֹא) His chosen ones . . . in order to possess a hand in war"; also 1QH 13:10; P.Volz, Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentliche Zeitalter (Tübingen: Mohr, 1934), pp.164,165.

39. J.Coppens, op. cit., p.8.

40. Cf. also CD 8:4.

41. A.Dupont-Sommer, "L'instruction sur les deux Esprits dans le Manuel de Discipline", RHR CXLII, 1952, p.25.

from the parallel in 1QH 13:18, "everlasting peace and length of days", that this shows extended life, not immortal life. A long life was the mark of divine blessing in the Old Testament.

(3) The author also sees the righteous bearing "seed with everlasting blessing". Once again we recall the Old Testament and Hodayot concept of immortality in one's descendants. The Hebrew believed that numerous posterity was the reward of the just. Certainly it is not a reference to immortal beings here, for souls do not procreate. To escape from this Dupont-Sommer claims that the point in question is of a spiritual progeny of new penitents entering into the covenant,⁴² but this interpretation does not commend itself.

(4) In the next place the righteous are promised "eternal rejoicing in the life of eternity" (מְשִׁיבָה עוֹלָמִית וְחַיִּים עוֹלָמִית). In Isaiah 35:10 the promise is that the remnant will return with "eternal rejoicing" (מְשִׁיבָה עוֹלָמִית), the same phrase that is used here, and in Isaiah it is clearly hyperbole.

(5) The phrase כִּסֵּי כְּבוֹד, "crown of glory", is nothing more than a figurative reference to the perfection which

42. A. Dupont-Sommer, op. cit., p. 26; D. Barthélemy, "Notes en marge de publications récentes sur les manuscrits de Qumran", RB LIX, 1952, p. 203.

the righteous shall enjoy, and does not envision a heavenly abode, nor immortal life on earth. כְּלָל carries the basic idea of "comploteness", and this lies at the root of the phrase in question. In the new age man will be cleansed from sin (1QS 4:20,21), and therefore perhaps we should translate as "perfection of glory".⁴³ Ben Sira 45:8, describing the honor and glory of the Aaronic line, says, "He clothed him with כְּלָל וְתִכְתּוֹן", which Box and Oesterley translate as "perfection of adornment".⁴⁴ כְּלָל (=כְּלָל) also occurs in 1QSh 3:25 where once again it refers to the splendor and perfection of the priesthood. It reads, "God will place upon you כְּלָל כְּלָל in the midst of the holy ones", and refers to earthly existence. J.T.Milik translates כְּלָל כְּלָל as "un ornement splendide", suggesting that in 1QS 4:7 and Ben Sira 45:8 כְּלָל "designe plutot les vetements que la couronne".⁴⁵ Notice also 1QH 9:25-27,

And my stripes are for everlasting healing,
And the despising of my adversaries is for me
a crown of glory,

43. K.G.Kuhn, "Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion", ZTK XLIX, 1952, p.299, renders "das Vollkommene der Herrlichkeit und das Vollmass des Glanzes im ewigen Licht"; cf. also J. van der Ploeg, "kābôd=âmo", VT III, 1953, p.192.

44. Box and Oesterley, "Sirach", The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, I, p.486.

45. Barthélemy and Milik, op. cit., pp.124,125.

And my weakness⁴⁶ for eternal strength . . .
 And by Thy glory my light has shined;
 For a lamp in the darkness Thou hast caused
 it to shine.

Here we see the same phrase לְלִבִּי לְכָבוֹד , which quite clearly is symbolic of the honor due the author because of his endurance through suffering. Perhaps לְלִבִּי should again be translated "perfection", since the passage may refer to that purification brought by persecution. Finally consider Isaiah's promise to the returning remnant, "You shall be a crown of beauty ($\text{תִּכְרֹס מִכְּבוֹד}$) in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the hand of your God" (62:3; cf. Test. Benj. 4:1).

(6) The "raiment of majesty in eternal light" ($\text{לְבָשֵׁת מַלְכוּת בְּאוֹר עוֹלָמִית}$)⁴⁷ must also be viewed in the figurative sense of splendor and glory. The similarity in language to I Enoch is undoubtedly close (cf. especially 58:3-6; 62:15; 108:12), but this need not mean the complete identification of concepts. For one thing I Enoch 58:3 says, "the days of their life shall be unending", and 58:6 reads, "to a limit of days they shall not come". Yet we just saw that the author of

46. כְּשַׁלְוָתִי , "my weakness, affliction"; cf. Yalk. Job 897 (Job 4:4), "Thou didst console all the afflicted" (cf. Jastrow, I, p.676).

47. The word מַלְכוּת is the construct of מֶלֶךְ , identical to לְבָשֵׁת , "garment" (cf. Psa. 133:2). R. Marcus, "Textual Notes on the Dead Sea Manual of Discipline", JNES XI, 1952, p.207, says, "'raiment of majesty' may be correct, but mdt hdr may just as well mean 'appearance of majesty' or 'attribute of majesty'".

1QS looked only for "length of days" in the new age; extended life, not unending life. Furthermore the emphasis in the phrase "eternal light", as I Enoch 58 and Isaiah 60 show, is on the unfailing light of God, and not on any human immortality.

The rest of 1QS, except for a few minor exceptions, is silent about life after the eschaton. The scroll is mainly interested in the preparations for the final event. In good eschatological fashion it does not enquire what happens later, although we do meet phrases such as "Thou wert pleased that the elect of mankind should stand before Thee forever" (11:17), and "the council of the community will have been established in truth as an eternal planting" (8:5). These may refer to the continuation of the group, rather than the individual, or else "forever" is to be understood as hyperbole. The scroll is not teaching immortality, for we know that the writers of 1QS, after living a "length of days", expected to return to dust. Perhaps this is also the implication of 10:8, "as long as I exist an ordinance is engraved upon my tongue".

We noticed that 1QS contains the beginning of the Gehenna concept. There will be a place of "everlasting" torture for the wicked (4:13). Whether this really means "everlasting" is of course questionable. But it is important to realize that the scroll has not done away with the Old

Testament Sheol belief. 1QS 11:21,22 says, "And what is that born of woman; how shall he stand before Thee? For as for him from the dust is his kneading, and the bread of worms is his final dwelling."⁴⁸ For he is something shaped, only fashioned clay, whose longing is for dust".⁴⁹ The author implies that he expects to go to dust or Sheol when he dies. It is important to notice that he calls it "his final dwelling". The two concepts of Gehenna and Sheol lie side by side. Of course these two ideas may indicate different authors, especially since 9:25-11:22 is a psalm. However a parallel to this is found in I Enoch 22-25. In that text, as we saw, Sheol is divided into three sections. From two of them the wicked (who had not been punished on earth) and the righteous would rise at the final judgment. The wicked would be returned to eternal torment, yet the righteous would not live forever. They would only "live a long life on the earth" (25:6). The text does not say where they would go when they died, but undoubtedly they would return to Sheol, to the "bright spring of water" (22:9). So perhaps, though 1QS does not make it clear, there was such a "compartmentalized" Sheol belief in the mind of the

48. Reading 11170 for 11170, and translating according to W.H.Brownlee, BASOR SS 10-12, p.46 (cf. note 38).

49. Perhaps also 11:10, but cf. note 21, p.45 of W.H. Brownlee's translation.

writer.

The abolishment of sin in the new age does not affect this view of immortality. The Scrolls do not regard death itself as the direct penalty of sin. 1QH 4:29,30 says, "Who is flesh as this one? And what is a creature of clay to magnify wonders? For he is in sin from the womb, and a captive of the guilt of perversity". Yet there is no indication that sin brings death. Death, as in the Old Testament, is considered to be the normal end of life. As the wise woman of Tekoa said to David, "We must all die, we are like water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again" (II Sam. 14:14). Thus even though 1QS can say that in the new age "there will be no wrong-doing" (4:23) and God "will destroy (evil) forever" (4:19), this does not mean that death will be abolished. The grave is still the inevitable end of every man.

C. The Zadokite Fragments

This document contains very little about the future life. There are two explicit references to life in the coming age. CD 3:18-20 says,

God in His wonderful mysteries forgave their iniquity and pardoned their impurity, and He built for them a sure house in Israel, the like of which has not stood from of old even until now. They that hold fast to it are for the life of oternity, and all the glory of Adam is theirs.

Ch.Rabin points out that חַיִּים בְּחַיִּים is a "biblicizing" adaptation of חַיִּים בְּחַיִּים (Dan. 12:2; Ben Sira 37:26).⁵⁰ The same phrase occurs in 1QS 4:7. Once again we are face to face with the problem of the literalness of "eternity". However the fact that it is connected with the restoration of the "glory of Adam" would seem to infer an Old Testament point of view, as it does elsewhere in the Scrolls, and therefore no immortality is in view. Rather the emphasis lies on the everlastingness of the kingdom, and (as is especially strong in 1QH) on the fact that the faithful will be included in the remnant which will be kept through the end time to enter the new age.

The only other clear passage which indicates the author's attitude toward the future is CD 7:5,6.

All they that walk in these (laws) in perfection of holiness according to all (commandments), the covenant of God shall stand fast with them so that they shall live⁵¹ for a thousand generations.⁵²

50. Ch.Rabin, The Zadokite Documents, p.13, note 20.1; cf. חַיִּים בְּחַיִּים, jBer. 7:1.

51. Ch.Rabin, op. cit., p.26, translates "to keep them alive", though suggesting the possibility of "for them to live" (p.27, note 6.1). The phrase is חַיִּים בְּחַיִּים, which appears to be the Qal inf. const. with the 3rd m.p. suffix.

52. Manuscript B has, "so that they shall live for thousands of generations, as it is written, Who keepeth the covenant and grace to His friends and the keepers of His commandments for a thousand generations".

H.W. Robinson notes, "The conception of eternity is reached by piling up limited time-periods, as with reference to a thousand generations in equivalence to 'olam".⁵³ At first glance then the passage from CD appears to teach immortality. However notice that "for a thousand generations" does not refer to "so that they shall live", but rather to the "covenant of God shall stand fast". This is parallel to the use in the Old Testament. Psalms 105:8 reads,

He is mindful of His covenant forever,
Of the word that He commanded,
For a thousand generations.⁵⁴

God will remain faithful to His covenant forever. Because He will His people shall "live". The question of immortality is not in view. Even if it is inherent in the passage, the implication is that there will be no immortality, but rather, in typical Old Testament fashion, thousands of generations, the continuation of God's people, the preservation of the remnant. That this is the interpretation here is shown by CD 20:21,22, "And He will show mercy unto thousands, to them that love Him and them that wait for Him, unto a thousand generations". This passage is a loose quote from Deuteronomy 7:9, and in both we see that it is God's mercy that

53. H.W. Robinson, op. cit., p.119.

54. Cf. I Chron. 16:15; Deut. 7:9.

will last forever, not the people who are faithful to Him. Each succeeding generation will experience God's grace.

D. The War Scroll

In a scroll chiefly concerned with the eschatological battle one would not expect to find much about the future age. However there is enough to determine the hope of life following the eschaton. We have seen that there is a clear expectation of an earthly kingdom along Old Testament lines. But would the saints have immortality? In the first column we are given the answer.

In the assembly of God His great majesty shall shine for all the periods of the earth, for peace and blessing, glory and rejoicing, and length of days for all the sons of light. (1:8,9)

The familiar "length of days" appears again. The writer of 1QM looked for long life, an extended period of enjoying the pleasures of God's new age. Consider also 1QM 15:7,

Thou, O God of our fathers, we bless Thy name forever, and we are the people of Thy lot. And a covenant Thou hast made with our fathers, and Thou wilt establish it for their seed for the periods of eternity.

We see here the Old Testament point of view---the continuation of the line, not the individual. So also 13:9 says, "(Thou hast placed) for Thyself an eternal people". It is on the nation as a whole that the emphasis lies. We see this same idea in the fragmentary nineteenth column where it says "Israel shall be an eternal kingdom" (19:8).

There are two problem phrases. 1QM 15:1 says, "And the lot of God is with those who are eternally redeemed" (וְהַחֵלֶק עִלְלָאִים). 1QM 17:5 says, "among all those who will be forever" (וְהָיִי עִלְלָאִים). The phrases are difficult, and we must interpret them according to context. We have seen that the author expected "length of days" on an eternal earth. There is no resurrection of the body or spirit taught. Noticeably lacking is anything of the imagery of the apocalyptic books wherein the glorious life in an immortal state are given. Rather the people will dwell in a restored earthly kingdom of great glory (12:13,14; 19:4-8). Other nations will pay homage (11:13-16). Life will be lengthened (1:9). It is clearly an Old Testament hope, and thus these phrases must be understood either as common hyperbole, or else as a reference to the "eternity" of God's people.

E. The Benedictions

I have already discussed the major part of the evidence from this book. Man will share access to God with the angels. The earthly kingdom will be restored. The priesthood will be returned to its former glory. 1QSb 3:26 says, "The covenant of eternal priesthood He will renew for you". 1QSb 3:4 promises, "He will sanctify your seed in glory forever". In 1QSb 2:28 we catch the phrase, "upon all your

descendants". There is nothing in the Benedictions to indicate personal immortality. There is rather the expectation of God's continued blessing on His people. As 1QSb 2:25 says, "He will favor you with an eternal covenant".

The final two Scrolls---the Habakkuk Commentary and the Rule of the Congregation---are silent on the problem of immortality, but as there is unity of thought among the other texts regarding the length of life, one would surmise that here too the writers looked for the glorious restored kingdom in which the people of God would never perish. Men would live forever in their descendants. This appears to be the best understanding of the evidence. The language is vivid, but one would expect this. The authors are speaking in the fashion of the Hebrew. But the similarity to Old Testament concepts, the many references to the perpetuity of the earthly kingdom, and the fact that neither resurrection, nor any existence apart from the body, is taught in the Scrolls, necessitate the conclusion that the writers of the Qumran Scrolls did not hope for personal immortality.

CHAPTER IX

THE PERSON AND ROLE OF THE MESSIAH

A. The Background

The Old Testament consistently portrays the hope of a Davidic ruler in the restored kingdom. At times this expectation is expressed in terms of the continuation of the line, the perpetuity of a son of David on the Judean throne. Elsewhere it is made more specific and centered on the particular individual who it was believed would be the first ruler in the Messianic age. II Samuel 7 is generally taken to be the earliest expression of the former belief, though some place this passage during exilic or post-exilic days.¹ In that chapter God says to David, "Your house and your kingdom shall be made sure forever before Me; your throne shall be established forever" (7:16). Again, in Jeremiah 22:4, the Lord promises the king of Judah, "If you will indeed obey this word, then there shall enter the gates of this house kings who sit on the throne of David, riding in chariots and on horses, they, and their servants, and their people" (cf. 30:9). In Ezekiel 37:24 it is, "My servant

1. Cf. R.H. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament (New York: Harpor, 1941), p.370; B. Stade, "Samuel (Books)", EB IV, 1903, p.4278; H.P. Smith, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel (ICC. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1899), pp.297,298; S.B. Frost, Old Testament Apocalyptic, p.62.

David shall be king over them, and they shall all have one shepherd", and in Isaiah 55:3, "I will make with you an everlasting covenant, My steadfast, pure love for David". Zechariah 12:8 says that on the Day of Jahweh "the Lord will put a shield about the inhabitants of Jerusalem so that the feeblest among them on that day shall be like David, and the house of David shall be like gods, like the angel of the Lord before them". Hosea 3:5 promises that after the exile "the children of Israel shall return and seek the Lord their God, and David their king" (cf. Amos 9:11).

Occasionally in the Old Testament this general expectation is narrowed down to one individual, but it is always a scion of the house of David. So Isaiah promises that out of the darkness of the invasion doom a light shall shine, the coming Messianic king, who would signify the restoration of Israel's fortunes. Indeed he was already here, "for to us a child is born, to us a son is given, and the government will be upon his shoulder, and his name will be called, Wonderful, Counselor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and of peace there will be no end, upon the throne of David, and over his kingdom to establish it and to uphold it" (9:6,7). Further down Isaiah 11:1 speaks of a "shoot from the stump of Jesse". Micah 5:1 prophesies, "But you, O Bethlehem Ephrathah, who

are little to be among the clans of Judah, from you shall come forth for Me one who is to be ruler in Israel". In later years both Haggai and Zechariah speak of Zerubbabel as the promised "branch" of the house of David (Haggai 2:23; Zech. 4:9).

In general the words of the prophets concerning the Messianic ruler were interpreted, according to Ch. Guignebert, not as a "single, unique individual, but a kind of collective personality composed of the endless line of Davidic kings who were to be the future rulers of Israel".² So even the identification of this figure with Zerubbabel did not mean that he was to be the sole bearer of that title. He was "the branch" in the sense that he would be the sign of the change in Israel's fortunes, the first ruler in the new age, but there would be other Davidic kings to follow.

Oftentimes in the Old Testament, and, as we shall see, in later Jewish literature, the emphasis is not so much on the person of the coming king, as on the place of the priest. Israel would be an hierocracy, and the final battle would be God's work (cf. Ezek. 38ff.). In fact Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and Daniel do not even mention a Messianic ruler. However the important thing to remember is that in any case

2. Ch. Guignebert, The Jewish World in the Time of Jesus (London: Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1939), p.130.

an earthly son of David was expected, even though he may have been placed in the background. Even if the future king is not mentioned, it is idle to assume, as some do, that the new kingdom was to be without at least a titular lay head. The Old Testament hope is for the restoration of the Davidic monarchy, and there is nothing to suggest that this was superseded by another viewpoint. Even in the hierocracy of Ezekiel there is a "prince", a lay leader, though he is at best merely an honorary president. Ch. Guignebert points out, "before the 1st century A.D. the Jews were much more deeply concerned with the kingdom of God, that reign of bliss under the perfected covenant, than with the figure of the Messiah".³ So G. Dalman writes, "It need not be supposed that such prophets and apocalyptic writers as never mention the Messiah at all, should therefore have believed that Israel should be kingless in the age of salvation. But they considered it superfluous to speak of the king, the vital consideration being first of all the advent of redemption".⁴

The Old Testament Messianic concept then was quite

3. Ch. Guignebert, op. cit., p.142.

4. G. Dalman, The Words of Jesus, p.296; cf. H.H. Rowley, "The Suffering Servant and the Davidic Messiah", OS VIII, 1950, p.120.

mundane and earthly. The seed of David was to return to the throne. The clothing of this figure in supernatural and eschatological garb came only outside the Hebrew canon.

There was by no means a unified hope among the Jews in the post-Old Testament period. The extra-canonical and Rabbinic writings bear ample testimony to the fact that during this period the Messianic conceptions of the Jews had no one central rallying point, but were rather in a state of great flux.

In the whole of the Apocrypha, Jubilees, Letter of Aristeas, I Enoch (1-36; 72-82; 91-107), III and IV Maccabees, Assumption of Moses, II Enoch, and II Baruch (B¹, B², B³)⁵ there is no personal Messiah in view, but only a kingdom where God alone rules.⁶ At the end of the age God would reveal Himself and destroy all sinners. In I Enoch 10:16 the "plant of righteousness and truth" is very reminiscent of the description of the Qumran sect (cf. CD 1:7; 1QS 8:5; 11:8). This "plant" is the closest thing to a Messiah in that section. Some scholars, following the lead of R.H.

5. B¹ (1:1-9:1; 32:2-4; 43:1-44:7; 45-46; 77-82; 84; 86), B² (10-25; 30:2-32:1; 32:5-35; 41; 44:8-15; 47-52; 75; 83), B³ (85); cf. R.H. Charles, "II Baruch", The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, II, pp. 475, 476.

6. This, of course, did not mean that there would be no human king. The writers of these works were merely more interested in other matters.

Charles,⁷ believe that a personal Messiah from Judah is seen in Jubilees 31:18, "and to Judah he said, May the Lord give thee strength and power to tread down all that hate thee; a prince shalt thou be, thou and one of thy sons, over the sons of Jacob; may thy name and the name of thy sons go forth and traverse every land and region". It is more likely that this refers to the time of David, and to the kingship during that period. In Jubilees the main Messianic idea is that the creation is to undergo a gradual renewal, and this is to be conditioned ethically by the conduct of Israel (cf. 23:11-25).

In the books where there is a personal Messiah in view there are various differences. The apocalyptic visions of IV Ezra, II Baruch (A¹, A², A³),⁸ and I Enoch (37-71), and the prophetic utterances of the Sibylline Oracles see a supernatural Messiah coming from heaven. "For there has come from the plains of heaven a blessed man with the sceptre in his hand which God has committed to his clasp; and he has won fair dominion over all" (Sib.Ora. 5:414-416; cf. 3:652ff.; I Enoch 48:3,6; 69:27-29; II Bar. 30:1ff.; 72:1ff.; IV Ezra

7. R.H.Charles, The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), p.188.

8. A¹ (27:1-30:1), A² (36-40), A³ (53-74); cf. R.H. Charles, "II Baruch", The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, II, pp.475,476.

7:27-30; 12:32ff.; 13:9-11,37,38; 14:9).⁹

On the other hand the Psalms of Solomon, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and I Enoch (83-90) envision a Messiah arising from among men. In the Psalms of Solomon and I Enoch it is a Davidic Messiah that is expected.¹⁰ "Hearken, Lord, and raise up for them their king, of the house of David . . . and he will bring all the heathen under his yoke, and they will serve him" (Psa.Sol. 17:21,30).

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, however, presents two different expectations. In one place it teaches a Messiah from Judah, while in another the hope is for a Messiah from Levi. Some have therefore equated a Messiah ben Levi alongside of a Messiah ben Judah at the same time, or in other words, two Messiahs. The Testaments has many problems into which we cannot delve in this study, the main one being the extent of Christian additions to the original text. R.H.Charles argues that the Testaments was written to honor the Maccabean priest-kings, and therefore every passage that speaks of a Messiah descended from the line of Judah is a Christian interpolation.¹¹ G.R.Beasley-Murray,

9. IV Ezra 12:32 speaks of the Messiah as "from the seed of David", but this appears to be a Christian addition, for the rest of the book clearly shows a heavenly being.

10. Actually there is nothing said as to the lineage of the Messiah in I Enoch 83-90, but the assumption is that he would be from the tribe of Judah.

11. R.H.Charles, The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (Oxford: Clarendon, 1908), pp.xlxi,xliii.

however, claims that these two elements, a Messiah from Levi and a Messiah from Judah, are original, and so speaks of two Messiahs.¹² E.J.Bickerman denies the teaching of a Levitical Messiah, interpreting the evidence as merely putting an emphasis on the fact that the priesthood belongs to Levi and the kingdom to Judah.¹³ M.DeJonge sees Christian elements to such a degree that he claims we cannot speak of Jewish additions and Christian interpolations, for the Testaments is a Christian compilation using Jewish elements.¹⁴

There are two passages that present a Levitical leader in the final days.

For to Levi God gave the sovereignty . . . for he shall bless Israel and Judah, because him hath the Lord chosen to be king over all the nation. And bow down before his seed, for on our behalf it will die in wars visible and invisible, and will be among you an eternal king. (Test.Reub. 6:7-12)¹⁵

12. G.R.Beasley-Murray, "The Two Messiahs in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs", JTS XLVIII, 1947, p.11.

13. E.J.Bickerman, "The Date of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs", JBL LXIX, 1950, p.252 (cf. note 19).

14. M.DeJonge, The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, pp.37-128. The discovery in Qumran cave 4 of a fragment of the Test.Levi in Aramaic raises a question as to the validity of this argument. Cf. J.T.Milik, "Le Testament de Levi en araméen. Fragment de la grotte 4 de Qumrân", RB LXII, 1955, pp.398-406.

15. E.J.Bickerman, op. cit., pp.250,251, claims that the references to Levi as a "king" are Christian additions, although Beasley-Murray, op. cit., p.1, sees this passage as the only one in the Testaments that teaches a Levitical Messiah without ambiguity.

Then shall the Lord raise up a new priest, and to him all the words of the Lord shall be revealed. And he shall execute a righteous judgment upon the earth for a multitude of days. And his star shall arise in heaven as of a king. (Test. Levi 18:2,3)¹⁶

There is another passage that might be construed as referring to a Levitical Messiah.

And they said to me, Levi, thy seed shall be divided into three offices, for a sign of the glory of the Lord who is to come. And the first portion shall be great; yea greater than it shall none be. The second shall be in the priesthood. And the third shall be called by a new name, because a king shall arise from¹⁷ Judah, and shall establish a new priesthood, after the fashion of the Gentiles for all the Gentiles. (Test. Levi 8:11-14)

I do not believe that this last passage speaks of a Messiah. The first two portions refer to Moses and Aaron. The third is probably a reference, not to a Maccabean ruler, as R.H. Charles says,¹⁸ or to a priestly Messiah, as A. Dupont-Sommer maintains,¹⁹ but as T.W. Manson has pointed out, to Solomon

16. M. DeJonge, op. cit., p. 89, takes this as Christian because the author is suggesting that the Levitical priesthood will come to an end, and a new priest of an entirely different order (Christ) will arise. Bickerman, op. cit., p. 253, claims that this does not refer to a Levitical Messiah, but does not explain the references to "judgment" and arising as a "king"; cf. Beasley-Murray, op. cit., p. 3.

17. R.H. Charles, op. cit., p. 44, note 77, emends the ἐκ τοῦ 'Ιουδα to ἐν τῷ 'Ιουδα, though there is no evidence for the change, and as Bickerman points out (op. cit., p. 251, note 17) there never was a king "in" Judah.

18. Ibid.; cf. also W.O.E. Oesterley (Introduction, p. xvii) in R.H. Charles, The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (London: SPCK, 1917).

19. A. Dupont-Sommer, The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes, p. 52.

and the Zadokite priesthood.²⁰

In Judaism as a whole there is an effort made to separate the kingly and priestly prerogatives when giving the Messianic hope. Even though in the Old Testament the union of priest and king in one person was common,²¹ the Messianic days were generally regarded as led by a high priest alongside of the Messiah.²² However these two passages appear to be exceptions, unless one falls back on the easily abused excision of Christian additions. They do not teach merely an emphasis on the priesthood, as Bickerman contends, for they proclaim a Levitical warrior and king, a "Messiah" in the true sense of the word. Certainly this is not the normal priestly role. A.J.B.Higgins finds that in the Testaments a kingly Messiah from Levi "occurs with certainty in only two passages" (Test. Levi 18; Test. Reub. 6:7-12),²³ yet the fact remains that at least

20. T.W.Manson, "Miscellanea Apocalyptica III", JTS XLVIII, 1947, pp.60,61.

21. Cf. II Sam. 6:14,17ff.; I Kgs. 8:1-66; 9:25; 12:33; II Kgs. 16:12ff.

22. Cf. A.J.B.Higgins, "Priest and Messiah", VT III, 1953, pp.321-336, for a thorough discussion; also J.Jeromias, "ἐχθρὸς", TWzNT, II, pp.934ff.; Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, III, p.696; IV, pp.457, 460-465. Higgins also discusses the place of Elijah as an eschatological high priest.

23. A.J.B.Higgins, op. cit., p.330.

there are two places.²⁴

In other parts of the Testaments the hope is for the appearance of a Messiah from Judah.

And after these things shall a star arise to you from Jacob in peace, and a man shall arise from my seed like the son of righteousness . . . then shall the sceptre of My kingdom shine forth, and from your root shall arise a stem, and from it shall grow a rod of righteousness to the Gentiles, to judge and save all that call upon the Lord. (Test. Judah 24:1-5)

R.H.Charles calls "from my seed" a Christian interpolation, and therefore understands the passage as teaching a Messiah from Levi.²⁵ However there is neither evidence nor need for this change. The passage clearly proclaims a Messiah from Judah. This is emphasized by two other passages.

And Isaac, the father of my father, blessed me to be king in Israel, and Jacob further blessed me in like manner. And I know that from me shall the kingdom be established. (Test. Judah 17:5,6)

And among men of another race shall my kingdom be brought to an end, until the salvation of Israel shall come . . . for the Lord sware to me with an oath that He would not destroy the kingdom from my seed forever. (Test. Judah 22:2,3)²⁶

24. G.H.Dix, "The Messiah Ben Joseph", JTS XXVII, 1926, p.135, says that the Testaments as a whole expect a Messiah from Levi.

25. R.H.Charles, The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, p.101.

26. Cf. G.R.Beasley-Murray, op. cit., pp.6,7 for a discussion of these passages.

Thus there are two opposing viewpoints in the book ---a Levitical priest-king at one place, and the normal Davidic Messiah at another. Each is a "Messiah" in the proper sense of the word. Nowhere in the book do these two figures appear together, for this would be impossible. There are not two warrior-kings in the last days. In parts of the Testaments it is true that we do read of two eschatological figures. So Test.Simeon 7:2 reads,

For the Lord shall raise up from Levi as it were a high priest, and from Judah as it were a king, God and man. He shall save all the Gentiles and the race of Israel.²⁷

Those who are wont to see two Messiahs in the Testaments point to this passage as indicating such a belief. But as A.J.B.Higgins has pointed out,²⁸ in this and similar places Levi is not a Messiah, but the superior priestly companion to the Messiah from Judah. The passage is setting forth the general expectation of a priest and Davidic Messiah in the last days. Here there is quite a different

²⁷. The phrase "God and man" is obviously Christian, although M.DeJonge, op. cit., pp.88,124, sees the whole section as a Christian addition. He claims that the scribe believed that Christ, as the Messiah, was a descendant of Judah, though he connects Him with Levi and Judah in this passage as high priest and king. However though "God and man" is Christian, context indicates that the phrase "He shall save . . ." refers to God; cf. Test.Napht. 8:2,3; Test.Levi 2:11; Test.Dan 5:10-13.

²⁸. A.J.B.Higgins, op. cit., pp.328,330.

concept than in the previous passages which speak of a Levitical Messiah. The priest no longer has the kingship; it belongs to Judah, and therefore the priest may not be called a "Messiah". In the Testaments Levi is sometimes given precedence over Judah in the statement of the eschatological hope. So Test. Judah 21:1-2 says,

And now my children, I command you, love Levi, that ye may abide . . . for to me the Lord gave the kingdom, and to him the priesthood, and He set the kingdom beneath the priesthood.²⁹

But this does not mean that the high priest is a Messiah. He is merely the leading figure in a hierocratic organization.

What we have seen in these passages from the extra-canonical literature is that some books do not mention a Messiah, some speak of a supernatural being, others expect a Davidic Messiah, while in parts of the Testaments a Messiah from Levi is taught. Before the advent of the Hasmonaeans a Messiah from Levi would have been difficult to imagine. But as that priestly dynasty gained power and prestige, the hearts of down-trodden Jews could easily have swung to them as the ones who would usher in the Messianic kingdom. M.-J. Lagrange suggests that in later years, as the Messianic manifestation attempted in the name of Judah (Bar Kokhbah)

²⁹. Cf. also Test. Dan 5:4-10; Test. Gad 8:1; Test. Joseph 19:1-11. M. DeJonge, op. cit., p. 87, says that this passage is "undoubtedly Christian".

failed, this was the pretext for the partisans of Levi to renounce Judean Messianism.³⁰

The confused Messianic picture is seen in later Jewish literature, although this need not concern us greatly here.³¹ mEduy. 2:10, in the manner of Ezekiel 38 and 39, speaks of the final days as "the judgment of Gog and Magog" in which the Messiah does not appear. Indeed the Messiah is only mentioned twice in the entire Mishnah.³² mBer. 1:5 speaks of the "days of the Messiah" (יְמֵי מָשִׁיחַ), and mSot. 9:15 describes the great pre-eschaton woes as the "footprints of the Messiah" (אֵדֻת מְשִׁיחַ), but aside from these two references the Mishnah is silent. Hippolytus wrote that the Jews believed in a Messiah who would fall by the edge of the sword after having gathered Israel together.³³ Justin Martyr attributes to Trypho the saying, "We all await a Messiah who shall be a man from among men".³⁴ The Talmud in

30. M.-J. Lagrange, "La secte juive de la nouvelle alliance au pays de Damas", RB IX (XXI), 1912, p.358.

31. Cf. the discussion in J. Klausner, The Messianic Idea in Israel, pp.391-517.

32. Cf. the strange statement by S. Zeitlin, "The Essenes and Messianic Expectations", JQR XLV, 1954-1955, p.111, "It is a fact that the Messiah is not mentioned in the entire Mishnah. Resurrection, the Future World, and Revelation are stressed. Since the Messiah is not mentioned we have conclusive proof that even after 70 A.D. normative Judaism did not have an idea of a Messiah for one and a half centuries".

33. Hippolytus, The Refutation of All Heresies, 9:30.

34. Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, 49:1; Gen.R. 23:5.

general looks for the coming of a Davidic Messiah, but occasionally there are variants. In bSan. 98b R.Hillel claims that Israel has no Messiah to expect because it enjoyed him in the days of Hezekiah. However Rashi interprets this as meaning not that R.Hillel denied the Messianic hope in general, but rather that he expected God Himself to deliver Israel. bSuk. 52a states that certain Jews believe in two Messiahs, one from the tribe of Ephraim (Joseph), and the other from the line of David. The Messiah ben Joseph, who was lower in rank than the Messiah ben David, was destined to perish in the war against evil, and then the Messiah from David would arrive to assume the kingdom.³⁵ As I pointed out in chapter I (p.34) the dual Messianic office of warrior and king is thus divided in this concept, and the two figures may therefore be called "Messiahs".

In summary then the eschatological king in the Old Testament is a Davidic figure. There is never any change from this view. The Hebrew of this period hoped for the

35. Cf. supra, p.34; Pes.R. 8:27; Targ.Jon.Ex. 40:11; Targ.Cant. 4:5; 7:4; IV Ezra 7:29; J.Klausner, op. cit., pp.401-403; 483-501; G.H.Dix, op. cit., pp.130-143; Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., II, pp.292-299; G.Dalman, Der leidende und der sterbende Messias der Synagoge im ersten nachchristlichen Jahrtausend (Karlsruhe: Reiff, 1887), pp.1-end; C.C. Torrey, "The Messiah Son of Ephraim", JBL LXVI, 1947, pp. 253-277; Bousset-Gressmann, Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter (Third edition; Tübingen: Mohr, 1926), pp.230ff.

restoration of the kingdom with a son of David on the throne. When we examine the extra-canonical literature we find that some authors continue the Old Testament theme of a Davidic king, others have a priestly Messiah in view, while a few speak of a heavenly Messiah. S.B.Frost has some significant words in this regard.³⁶

If the messianic era is to be not merely a Future Age but also an Age to Come as the double-eschaton form maintains, then the Messiah must be not merely the Davidic Tsemach appropriate to the Days of the Messiah, but one who is proper to the Age to Come itself---who is of that Age with a significance that is not merely temporal but also eternal.

The role of the Messiah I have already discussed in chapter I---he would be a warrior-king. In the Old Testament the Messianic ruler is never viewed as the redeemer of Israel. This is God's work. The son of David is the king of the new age, but it is God, as G.Dalman points out,³⁷ who is the לְבַרְכָּא, "redeemer", מִצְחָא, "liberator", מְשִׁיחָא, "savior", and מַצִּילָא, "deliverer". It is this concept of the place of the Davidic king that led to his neglect in the eschatological statement of many writers. The important thing was that God was going to redeem His people. Isaiah 11 speaks of the future king ruling with a "rod of iron", but it is clear that the kingdom has already been set up

36. S.B.Frost, op. cit., pp.252,253.

37. G.Dalman, The Words of Jesus, p.295.

by God when this Davidic seion begins his reign. Though occasionally this figure-head role is assigned to the coming king in the extra-canonical works, we discovered that this was not the common practice. In the Sibylline Oracles the king sent by God destroys the wicked and gathers together the righteous (3:652ff.). The son of David in the Psalms of Solomon "shall destroy the ungodly nations with the word of his mouth" (17:27).³⁸ Isaiah 11 undoubtedly lies in the background of this apocalyptic concept, but it is interesting to notice the transference of ideas. In Isaiah the king rules the new age with the "rod of his mouth", while in the Psalms of Solomon he brings in the kingdom by this same power. Thus there grew up alongside the traditional doctrine a teaching which endowed the king with supernatural powers, and which viewed him as the one who would liberate Israel and vindicate it in the sight of the nations. It is therefore not difficult to understand the perplexity of the disciples at the rather startling teaching of Jesus that He was to die.

B. Antipathy to David in the Scrolls

It has been the contention of some who have commented

³⁸. Cf. also I Enoch 37-71; IV Ezra 12:32ff.; 13:9-11; 37,38; II Baruch 39:7; 40:1ff.; 70:9; 72:2-6.

on the Scrolls that there is a definite antipathy to David and to a Messiah from the tribe of Judah. At least, the Zadokite Fragments have been called into question on this regard.³⁹ The validity of this assertion is, of course, important for the proper understanding of the Messianic hope. Let us examine the relevant passages and discover what they teach.

Its interpretation concerns all the doers of the Torah in the house of Judah, whom God will deliver from the house of judgment because of their toil and their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness. (1QpHab 8:1-3; cf. 12:4,5)

This passage, and the later one in column 12, clearly show that the sect considered itself part of Judah. However it is not the tribe as such, but the country of Judah to which reference is made. There are some good and some bad in Judah. Those who obey God will be saved. There is nothing to show any antipathy to the tribe. The Messianic hope could still be centered in Judah.

There will come upon thee and upon thy people and upon thy father's house days such as have (not) come from the day that Ephraim departed from Judah. When the two houses of Israel separated, Ephraim became ruler over Judah, and all they that hesitated were given over to the sword, but those that held fast escaped to the land of the north. (CD 7:11-14; cf. 14:1)

³⁹. Cf. R.H.Charles, Fragments of a Zadokite Work, p.796; M.-J.Lagrange, op. cit., p.220, note 2.

The author is making homiletical use of a passage from Isaiah 7:17. There is no hint that the Messianic expectation from Judah is questioned. The verse is used to show the separation of the sect from the rest of Israel. The good departed from the bad. "They that hesitated" refers to the wicked in Judah who disobeyed God; "those that held fast" is a reference to the community that returned to the Law. "Ephraim" refers to the sect; "Judah" to the rest of Israel. "Ephraim" is called a "W", the same name applied to the sect in CD 6:6. A priestly group has separated from the rest of Israel. It is again a midrashic explanation of current events.

And I have exiled the וְיָדוֹ of your king, and the וְיָדוֹ of your images from My tent to Damascus. The books of the Torah are the tabernacle of the king, as He said, And I will raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen. The king is (the Searcher of the Law).⁴⁰ (CD 7:14-17)

Here R.H.Charles sees antipathy to Judah because the passage is explained so that all reference to David is excluded.⁴¹ One has to be careful about pressing details in midrashic interpretation. Many times when an author employs such exegesis he is not necessarily interested in minimizing the importance of a person or persons. He only looks for that

40. Cf. supra, pp.65-69.

41. R.H.Charles, op. cit., p.796.

which he can use to fit his own situation. CD 3:21-4:4 is a case in point. The phrase "sons of Zadok" in that passage is explained to mean the sect as a whole. The author, in a sense, is explaining away the reference to the literal descendants of Zadok. He is interpreting the verse as a reference to the spiritual offspring of Zadok, and using it to explain the actions of the community. However that does not mean that he has an antipathy to the sons of Zadok as such. The very fact of the priestly leadership of the sect shows that to be false. The author used the passage because it could be interpreted in the manner he desired. So in the passage under discussion such is the method and purpose of the author. One cannot say that David has been minimized or disregarded. The emphasis is on the restoration of the Law to its proper place, something that God had promised to do in Amos 9:11. The sect is claiming fulfillment of that promise in their group. The promised "restored tabernacle" is not physical, but spiritual---the books of the Torah.

And about the prince it is written, Let him not multiply wives to himself, but David had not read the sealed book of the Law which was in the ark, for it had not been opened in Israel since the death of Eleazar and Joshua. And the elders who worshipped the Ashtarot were delivered.⁴² And (the Law) was

42. Reading מִיִּזְדֹּקִים וְיִזְדֹּקִים with P.Wernberg-Möller, "פִּזְז, פִּזְז, and פִּזְז in the Zadokite Fragments (CDC), the Manual of Discipline (DSD), and the Habakkuk Commentary (DSH)", VT III, 1953, p.313.

hidden and was not revealed until 7773 arose.
And the deeds of David were pardoned, with the
exception of the blood of Uriah, and God allowed
them to him. (CD 5:1-6)

R.H.Charles claims that here David is "accused" of ignorance of the Law, and that in the quotation from Deuteronomy 17:17 David's title of 7773 is changed to 8771.⁴³ All this is supposed to imply an animosity towards David. However the tone is not as strong as Charles claims. David is not at all "accused" of ignorance of the Law. As P.Wernberg-Møller has pointed out, the main concern of the author is to show that although the elders (the generations after Joshua's death, the 7773 7777 in Judges 2:10) deserted Jahweh after Joshua's death, and that although David did not obey the marriage prohibition, both were excused and forgiven because they did not have access to the Law.⁴⁴ There is no sense here of accusation or scorn; it has rather more of the tone of "excusing" David. In the previous verses (CD 4:20,21) the wicked of Israel are condemned for committing whoredom by marrying two women. This is stated as definitely wrong. Yet the author is quick to explain the case of David, in the event that someone should point to him as making precedent. David is excused on the basis of ignorance. He

43. R.H.Charles, loc. cit.

44. P. Wernberg-Møller, loc. cit.

is guilty of the blood of Uriah, it is true, but the author does not therefore do away with any hope of a Davidic Messiah.⁴⁵

The change of titles for David does not hint at disfavor of him. It was common for the future Messianic leader to be called a K'wl. God Himself called David a K'wl in II Samuel 7:8. Ezekiel 44-46 speaks of the Messianic king as a "prince". CD 7:20, interpreting Numbers 24:17, calls the Messiah the "prince of all the congregation" (לכ K'wl מלך), as do IQM 5:1,2 and IQSb 5:20 in a similar manner.⁴⁶ David is not condemned; the author is trying hard to show this. If one wanted to press the exegesis here it could even be claimed that in this passage the Davidic Messiahship is being boldly proclaimed. He is vested with a Messianic title.

The interpretation of מלך in line 5 is not clear. I. Lévi refers it to the Teacher of Righteousness.⁴⁷ P.Wernberg-Møller follows Lévi, though emending it to מלך, and reading, "it was not revealed until a righteous one arose".⁴⁸

45. L.Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, IV, p.103, says that even David's sin with Bathsheba is excused by the Rabbis.

46. IQSb 5:20-29 describes the Messiah in the Davidic terms of Isa. 11, Gen. 49:8ff., and Num. 24:17.

47. I.Lévi, "Un écrit sadducéen antérieur à la destruction du Temple", REJ LXI, 1911, p.180.

48. P.Wernberg-Møller, loc. cit.

K.Kohler emends to $\pi\tau\tau$ π and sees Dositheus the Samaritan (the Teacher of Righteousness according to Kohler) as its subject.⁴⁹ Ch.Rabin, following Kohler's emendation, claims that Hilkiah the Zadokite is this person.⁵⁰ I am inclined to follow the interpretation of Levi. The Biblical account does not show the historical Zadok in the role of the person in this verse, and it would fit the character of the Teacher of Righteousness as a "searcher of the Law" (CD 6:7).

That is the day when God shall visit, as He has spoken, The princes of Judah have become like them that remove the boundary; over them I shall pour wrath like water. (CD 19:15,16)

The explanation of this passage is clear. It refers to the leaders in Judah from whom the sect fled. The author is denouncing those wicked ones in the land of Judah who persecuted the sect. So in CD 20:26 the "evil-doers of Judah" refers to the same thing. Since the sect originated in the land of Judah, the "evil-doers" would represent all the perverse men in that area. The question of the Davidic line is not in view.

And when the epoch (of wickedness) is completed according to the number of these years, there shall

49. K.Kohler, "Dositheus the Samaritan Heresiarch and His Relations to Jewish and Christian Doctrines and Sects (A Study of Professor Schechter's Recent Publication)", AJT XV, 1911, p.411.

50. Ch.Rabin, The Zadokite Documents, p.18, note 5.2.

be no uniting with the house of Judah, but one must stand, each man upon his watchtower. The wall is built, the ordinance is far removed. (CD 4:10-12)

This passage clearly proclaims the fact that Israel's hopes for a Messiah do not rest in a united "house of Judah".

This "house" has been divided. CD 6:5 describes the sect who "went out from the land of Judah". The expectation of the sect at this time in their existence was for the coming of the Messiah in a certain length of time---forty years from the death of the Teacher of Righteousness (CD 20:14,15). In the meantime the break with Judaism was to remain complete. They were to stay separate, to remain holy, to keep away from the defiled sanctuary in Jerusalem until the coming of the Messiah. The author goes on to explain that righteousness will not depend upon a man's relationship to the Temple or to the people of Israel, for the wall around the Law has been built, and the ordinances prostituted. God will not look with favor on the people of Judah as a whole, but only on those individuals who have had their sins atoned by an "upright and humble spirit" (1QS 3:8). M.-J.Lagrange says regarding this passage, "toute la nation reportait ses espérances sur la maison de David, du moins pour le moment de la restauration des dernier temps par le Messie. C'est ce que la secte refuse d'admettre. La separation est désormais

irréparable; chacun chez soi".⁵¹ However that is seeing too much in this passage. All that it teaches is that there will be no solidarity of the house of Judah in the end-time. All her people will not be saved. Only that remnant of Judah who remained true to God will see His kingdom. The sect had separated themselves from organized Judaism; that was the way it was to remain. But the Messiah could still spring from Judah, for certainly that tribe was part of the sect.

Indeed to Thee is the war, and by the might of Thy hand their corpses have been dashed in pieces, for there is no one burying (them). And Goliath the Gattite, a mighty man of strength, Thou hast encompassed by the hand of David Thy servant, for he trusted in Thy great name and not in sword or spear. (1QM 11:1,2)

Here David is called God's "servant", one who trusted in the Lord's "great name". David is held in high esteem, and by no means is there any antipathy shown to him.

The rest of the Scrolls do not mention David by name, but in 1QSB and 1QM, as we shall see, the Old Testament prophecies regarding the Messianic king from the tribe of Judah are applied to the warrior K'W1.

The contention has been made that the Scrolls show a definite antipathy to David and to a Messiah from the tribe

⁵¹. M.-J. Lagrange, loc. cit.; cf. also M. Delcor, "Le sacerdoce, les lieux de culte, les rites et les fêtes dans les documents de Qumrân", RHR CXLIV, 1953, p.6, note 3.

of Judah. An examination of the evidence has shown this to be a false assumption. The Messiah from Judah has not been rejected; he would arise from the purified remnant. David has not been scorned; his spiritual and lineal descendants would rule the Messianic kingdom.

C. משיח and משיח

The reason for the form of the Messianic statement of 1QS 9:11, that is, משיח משיח משיח instead of the singular משיח of CD, lies of course at the very center of the problem facing us in this chapter. However before we can discuss reasons we must first understand the grammatical structure of both משיח and משיח.

(1) There are several possible ways to read משיח, and these have been discussed in detail by M.Burrows.⁵² Since waw and yodh are often indistinguishable by form in 1QS it is possible to read משיח (or משיח) instead of משיח. The phrase could then be translated either as (a) "the coming of a prophet and of his Messiah, Aaron, and of Israel", or (b) "the coming of a prophet and of his Messiah, Aaron-and-Israel", or even (c) "the coming of a prophet and of his Messiahs, Aaron and Israel".⁵³ But, as Burrows points out, the only antecedant for the possessive suffix is the prophet,

52. M.Burrows, "The Messiahs of Aaron and Israel", ATR XXXIV, 1952, pp.202-206.

53. Pointing as משיח.

and it is unlikely that the reference is to the prophet's Messiah(s). Even if the word is left with the yodh and translated "my Messiah(s)", there is nothing in the context to support this first person reference. Furthermore, Burrows says, the first interpretation given above would involve a meaningless reference to the coming of Israel, the second would presuppose an unlikely compound name, and the third would imply the equally improbable idea of a Messiah named Aaron and another named Israel.

The suffix might be read in apposition to the following name, but to this Burrows objects, claiming that it is "grammatically objectionable". In late Hebrew one might read לְאֹהֲרָאן מְשִׁיחִי, he says, but לְאֹהֲרָאן מְשִׁיחֵי does not mean "the Messiah of Aaron". Nor could the suffix refer to "Aaron and Israel", says Burrows, for even if it were allowed grammatically, it would have to be plural (מְשִׁיחֵיהֶם). However this need not be if "Aaron and Israel" is taken as the name of the sect.⁵⁴

M.Black suggests that the waw might be a proleptic suffix due to Aramaic influence, and translates, "his Anointed One of Aaron and Israel".⁵⁵ Or the phrase could be read as

54. Cf. infra, pp.307-311.

55. M.Black, "Theological Conceptions in the Dead Sea Scrolls", SEA XVIII-XIX, 1953-1954, p.89, note 37; cf. Lev. 6:3, בְּדָו בָּד, "his linen garment"; Lev. 26:42, בְּרִיתִי יַעֲקֹב, "My covenant with Jacob"; בְּרִיתִי אַבְרָהָם, "My covenant with Abraham"; cf. Gesenius, K., 2nd ed., 128d, p.415.

"my Anointed One of Aaron and Israel", if the waw is read as yodh. Yet there is still the problem of understanding the reference to "his" or "my". The subject would naturally be God, but He is nowhere mentioned in the immediate context. M.Black's translation seems to take "prophet" as the subject, but this is doubtful. It should be mentioned, however, that there is a somewhat parallel situation in CD 5:21-6:1 which reads, וְיִקְרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ. I discuss this in appendix A (pp.16-18), and suggest reading וְיִקְרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ. Yet it is possible that the difficult waw be retained, and read as Black has mentioned for LQS 9:11 (though of course וְיִקְרָא would have to be emended to וְיִקְרָא). However in CD the logical subject, God, is in the context.

M.Black also suggests the possibility of reading the yodh as a yodh compaginis.⁵⁶ So the extra yodh would be used here as a vestige of an old case-ending, and be emphasizing the construct relationship, such as in proper names (e.g. מֶלֶךְ-יִשְׂרָאֵל). The term "Messiah of Aaron and Israel" could then even be taken as a title. However this would be the sole occurrence of such a construction in the Scrolls.

56. M.Black, loc. cit.; cf. Gesenius, K., 2nd ed., 90.1, p.253; Deut. 33:16, שֹׁכֵן הַבִּשֹּׁל, "dweller of the bush". J.Reider, "On MSHTY in the Qumran Scrolls", BASOR 134, 1954, p.27, suggests that in LQIs^a 52:14 the extra yodh on יְהוָה may be due to the copyist's fondness for vowel letters, and perhaps this may also apply in LQS 9:11.

J.T.Milik, commenting on the Micah Commentary, suggests that the plural form פִּרְסִי פִּרְסִי (which occurs in that text, and is in contrast to the usual פִּרְסִי) was used "voir l'intensification du nom du Maître".⁵⁷ In the same manner this explanation could be applied to the name "Messiah" in 1QS. However in the Micah Commentary the reason for the yodh may lie in an interchange of yodh (or waw) and he.⁵⁸

The possibility of reading פִּרְסִי as a copyist's mistake must not be discarded. This view has been held by only a few scholars since the text first came to light.⁵⁹ Such an explanation, of course, is open to many difficulties. It is always dangerous to emend the text except for good reasons, and there is perhaps not much to merit this change. However in considering the whole scope of the Scrolls, the obvious singular in CD (where it occurs more than once), the solitary occurrence of the plural in any of the Scrolls, and the

57. J.T.Milik, "Fragments d'un midrash de Michée dans les manuscrits de Qumran", RB LIX, 1952, p.415.

58. Cf. 1QH 7:10, נִרְסִי for נִרְסִי; 1QS 1:5, מַרְסִי for מַרְסִי; 1QpHab 12:11, מַרְסִי for מַרְסִי; also M.H.Gottstein, "Studies in the Language of the Dead Sea Scrolls", JJS IV, 1953, pp.104-107.

59. Cf. Ch.Rabin, op. cit., p.31, note 21a; F.Nötscher, Bibel und Kirche, 1952, p.35 (as quoted by M.Burrows, op. cit., p.206). H.E.del Medico, Deux Manuscrits hébreux de la Mer Morte: essai de traduction du 'Manuel de Discipline' et au 'Commentaire d'Habacuc' avec notes et commentaires, p.33, reads the singular without explaining, and therefore he probably presupposes a mistake or a copyist's deliberate change.

acknowledged difficulty of the Hebrew text,⁶⁰ there is something to say for the argument. Such errors are not the exception in manuscripts, but often occur in the process of copying.

(2) The singular נ'WD of CD may be understood as a collective form. The Servant of Isaiah is referred to by both the singular and the plural forms (cf. Isa. 41:8; 43:10; 54:17). If that is the case in the Scrolls then there would be no disagreement between the Messianic teaching of CD and LQS. One author wrote נ'WD, and the other put down נ'WD, and both were referring to the same figures.

A few scholars have suggested that the absence of a yodh in CD is a copyist's emendation, and that LQS preserves the true form.⁶¹ However just as logically a scribe who interpreted the text as referring to two נ'נ'WD could have added a yodh to the LQS manuscript.

In summing up, the following are the most convincing options for נ'נ'WD and נ'WD: נ'נ'WD is best read as it stands, a masculine plural construct; נ'WD is to be understood as a masculine singular construct.

60. Cf. infra, pp.413,414.

61. J.T.Milik, "Elenchus textuum ex Caverna Maris Mortui", VD XXX, 1952, p.40; "Une lettre de Siméon Bar Kokheba", RB LX, 1953, p.291; N.Wieder, "The 'Law-Interpreter' of the Sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Moses", JJS IV, 1953, p.168, note 2; K.G.Kuhn, "Die beiden Messias Aarons und Israels", NTS I, 1955, pp.173,174.

D. The Meaning of "Aaron and Israel"

Since the phrase "Aaron and Israel" appears in conjunction with the word "Messiah" (except in 1QS^a), it is important that a proper understanding of its meaning be gained. The question is, Was the author deliberately trying to separate the two elements in the sect in order to show a dual Messiahship, one from the lay element, and the other from the priestly side, or did he only express the hope in this form in order to show the dual constitution of the sect itself?

And in the epoch of wrath three hundred and ninety years after He had given them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, He visited them, and He caused to grow forth from Israel and Aaron a root of planting to possess His land, and to grow fat in the goodness of His soil. (CD 1:5-8)

The Hebrew here is מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל וּמִיִּזְרָאֵל. This is an identical construction (though the names are reversed) to CD 20:1, מִיִּזְרָאֵל וּמִיִּשְׂרָאֵל. In this latter verse Schechter has pointed to the fact of the double min as a proof of a dual Messiah ---a Messiah from Aaron and (a Messiah) from Israel.⁶² However returning to the former passage it is to be noticed that the object of this raising is the singular נֶחֱמָה אֶחָד, or in other words, the sect. The "root" that God raised from two different elements of Judaism was the Qumran sect.

62. S. Schechter, Fragments of a Zadokite Work, p.xii.

One would not read here, "He caused to grow forth from Israel a root, and from Aaron a root". There is only one body or וְיָד in mind. The words מִיִּשְׁרָאֵל וְמִיִּשְׂרָאֵל refer, according to Schechter, to the Teacher of Righteousness who lived for twenty years before he was "recognized" as מִרְיָהּ הַזֶּה.⁶³ However in CD 6:2, a clear parallel to this passage, it speaks of God raising from Aaron "men of understanding" and from Israel "wise men". The words מִיִּשְׁרָאֵל וְמִיִּשְׂרָאֵל refer to the sect as a whole. The sense of the passage fits this interpretation better, especially since the Teacher of Righteousness is introduced in line 11, and this is the way most scholars understand it.⁶⁴ A similar phrase occurs in 1QS 8:5 and 11:8---וְלִיִּם מִיִּשְׁרָאֵל---where it refers to the group, the "council of the community", and not to one man.⁶⁵

The implication of this passage is that the phrase "Aaron and Israel" refers to the sect as a whole, while stressing its lay and priestly composition. Let us see if this is borne out by further passages.

63. S.Schechter, loc. cit.

64. R.Travers Herford, The Pharisees (London: Allen and Unwin, 1924), p.24, thinks that the "root" is a reference to the Sanhedrin, which came into existence about this time (he dates this event in CD around 196 B.C.).

65. Cf. also the "plant of uprightness" (Jub. 1:16), the "plant of righteousness" (Jub. 21:24; 16:26), and the "plant of righteousness and truth" (I Enoch 10:16-21).

And God remembered the covenant of the former ones, and He raised from Aaron men of understanding, and from Israel wise men. (CD 6:2,3)

This passage I have just mentioned above. Here there is a reference to the founding of the sect. The emphasis is on the division into priestly and lay elements. It is the same idea as is expressed in CD 10:4-6, "and this is the order of the judges of the congregation . . . four from the tribe of Levi and Aaron, and of Israel, six". Notice in this last passage the phrase "the tribe of Levi and Aaron". This is identical in construction to "the Messiah of Aaron and Israel". The author is not writing "the tribe of Levi and the tribe of Aaron", for "Levi and Aaron" is one group. So also "Aaron and Israel" is a unity, the sect, made up of priest and layman. These same two major divisions are seen in 1QS 5:2,3, "according to the sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant, and according to the majority of the men of the community who hold firmly to the covenant".⁶⁶

The order of the flags of all the congregation for their battle-arrangement. Upon the great flag which is at the head of all the people they shall write, The people of God, and the name of Israel and Aaron, and the names of the twelve tribes of Israel according to their generations. (1QM 3:13,14)

Notice here that it is the "name of" (DW), as it is the "Messiah of". The use of the plural "names" when referring to

66. Cf. 1QS 5:6,9,21,22; 8:6,9; 9:6; 1QSa 1:2,15,16,24,25.

the twelve tribes shows that the author intended the singular "name" to indicate that "Israel and Aaron" was a title or designation of the sect. Though the order is the reverse of the normal expression, CD 1:7 also uses this variant.

The phrase "Aaron and Israel" is met from time to time in the Scrolls, and though referring to physical descent in one sense, yet whenever it occurs in the text it is the same as saying "the men of the community of the Qumran sect". It is the character of the sect, and not the physical descent, that is being emphasized.⁶⁷ This is pointedly borne out by 1QS 8:5,6, "the council of the community will have been established in truth as an eternal planting, a holy house for Israel, a most holy institution for Aaron". The sect is a group where clergy and laity have met and have become one body---"Aaron and Israel". The priesthood holds the dominant place, as in Ezekiel, and so stress is placed upon its part in the sect.

To answer the question posed at the beginning, the author's purpose in expressing the Messianic hope in this form was to stress the fact that the Messiah would arise from their own group. They were the chosen who would give

67. Cf. M.-J. Lagrange, op. cit., p.325; H.H. Rowley, The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls, p.41.

birth of the deliverer of Israel. 1QH 3:3-18 gives a full description of just such a birth, as we shall see in a moment. So whenever the statement is made that the Messiah will arise from "Aaron and Israel" it is not the author's purpose to say that there will be two Messiahs, one from each branch, nor to speak of one Messiah with parents from both elements, but rather to state that this Messiah will arise from the midst of a group where all Israel is represented.

E. The Messianic Hope

St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll

The subject of Messianism in the complete Isaiah Scroll has been discussed rather thoroughly. Various changes in the wording and spelling of the text have been noticed, and these seem to show a Messianic tone not found in the MT.⁶⁸

68. Cf. W.H.Brownlee, "The Christ as Salvation", UP, Nov. 29, 1954, pp.6,7; Dec. 6, 1954, pp.12,13; "The Servant of the Lord in the Qumran Scrolls I", BASOR 132, 1953, pp.8-15; II, BASOR 135, 1954, pp.33-38; "Messianic Motifs of Qumran and the New Testament II", NES III, 1957 (to be published); J.Reider and W.H.Brownlee, "On MSHTY in the Qumran Scrolls", BASOR 134, 1954, pp.27,28; J.V.Chamberlain, "The Functions of God as Messianic Titles in the Complete Qumran Isaiah Scroll", VT V, 1955, pp.366-372; D.Barthélemy, "Le grand rouleau d'Isaïe trouve près de la Mer Morte", RB LVII, 1950, pp.530-549; A.Guillaume, "Les Manuscrits hébreux", RB LIX, 1952, pp.182-186; Joh.Lindblom, "Die Ebed Jahwe-Orakel in der neuentdeckten Jesaja handschrift (DSIa)", ZAW LXIII, 1951, pp.235-248; A.Rubinstein, "Isaiah LII 14---nnwn---and the DSIa Variant", Biblica XXXV, 1954, pp.475-479; R.E.Brown, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospels and Epistles (II)", CBQ XVII, 1955, pp.568, 569; F.Nötscher, "Entbehrliche Hapaxlegomena in Jesaja", VT I, 1951, p.301, note 6; M.Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, pp.266,267,313,314.

(1) 'nnwn and nnwn

lQIs^a 52:14 in particular has been the subject of much discussion. The MT reads literally, "marred more than a man was his appearance", while lQIs^a appears to say, "I have anointed more than a man his appearance". It is a change from nnwn to 'nnwn. The passage has been interpreted in various ways. (a) W.H.Brownlee, D.Barthélemy, J.V.Chamberlain, and F.Nötscher read the word as the Qal perfect, 1st singular, from the verb nwn, "anoint", and therefore a reference to the Messiah as the Suffering Servant. So Brownlee translates verses 14 and 15,⁶⁹

As many were astonished at you---

I so anointed⁷⁰ his appearance beyond any one (else),

And his form beyond that of (other) sons of men---⁷¹

So shall he sprinkle many nations because of himself,

And kings shall shut their mouths;

For that which had not been told them they have seen,

And that which they had not heard they have understood.

The general meaning then would be that the anointing (sprinkling) of the Servant with the Spirit would indicate his consecration to the priestly office so that he would be qualified

69. W.H.Brownlee, BASOR 132, p.10.

70. He adduces an argument for the original Messianic import of this word in the fact that nnwn may be either the construct of the noun "anointing" (nnwn) or of the noun "mar-ring" (nnwn), and says "hence the oral tradition which antedates the work of the Massoretes may very well have transmitted the vocalization mishat for the very reason that it admitted of a messianic interpretation!" (BASOR 132, p.11).

71. Nötscher, loc. cit., translates, "Ich habe ihn gesalbt sodass sein Aussehen das eines menschen übertrifft".

to "sprinkle" others with the Spirit. Brownlee considers 'nnwn to be a deliberate alteration of the traditional text by the sect for the purpose of special interpretation. However Barthelemy and Nötscher believe that the original reading was 'nnwn and that later scribes altered the official Massoretic text to nwn in order to reduce the Messianic import of the passage.⁷²

Barthélemy finds the background to this in Psalm 45:8, translating, "Le Seigneur ton Dieu t'a oint d'une huile d'al-légresse, to préférant à tous tes compagnons". He interprets מְחַנְּנִי . . . nwn as not "t'a oint de préférence a tous compagnons", claiming that the preference is the effect rather than the cause of the anointing.⁷³ The Messiah then, in his view, appears here as the high priest, the founder of a universal covenant ("he will sprinkle many people"), who personally becomes the victim of that covenant ("the chastisement which brings our peace has fallen on him, and by his stripes comes our wholeness"; 53:5).

(b) A.Guillaume⁷⁴ suggests reading 'nnwn as a verb not used elsewhere in Biblical Hebrew, the equivalent of مسح ,

72. Barthélemy, op. cit., p.547, points out that reading 'nnwn would remove a hapaxlegomenon, nwn, from a difficult construction.

73. Ibid., p.546.

74. A.Guillaume, op. cit., p.186.

"transform" (generally in a bad sense).⁷⁵ So he translates, "J'avais tellement altere son aspect de celui des autres hommes, sa forme de celle des fils des hommes". He says that the reference to the Servant's displeasing aspect in 53:2 seems to exclude any reference to triumphal "anointing".

(c) Joh.Lindblom⁷⁶ holds that when the scribe of 1QIs^a wrote 'nww for nww he had probably pronounced the word as mashit, and mistakenly changed around taw and yodh. In other words the word was originally n'ww, but metathesis has taken place.

(d) A.Rubinstein⁷⁷ explains 'nww as a Hoph'al participle in the singular construct state with a yodh ending, this merely being an unusual form of the participle (cf. 'nww; Hosea 10:11).⁷⁸

(e) J.Reider⁷⁹ suggests with Rubinstein that 'nww is either due to the archaic use of yodh at the end of a participle, or else that it is simply due to the fondness of the copyist for vowel letters, such as n'ww for ww (1QIs^a 52:13),

75. Hava suggests "to adulterate (a book), to emaciate (a horse), to render (food) tasteless".

76. Joh.Lindblom, op. cit., p.241.

77. A.Rubinstein, op. cit., pp.478,479.

78. Cf. 'nyn in 1QIs^a 49:7 as a possible example of this (suggested by W.H.Brownlee, NTS III, 1957; to be published).

79. J.Reider, BASOR 134, 1954, p.27.

or מָלִיךָ for מָלִיךָ (1QIs^a 52:15).

There is no conclusive solution to the understanding of this reading. However there are certain difficulties in the Servant-Messiah interpretation. (a) It is a fact that the immediately preceding verse (52:13) is interpreted by the Targum as a reference to the Servant as מָלִיךָ, but this does not necessarily mean that the sect thought he was the Messiah (nor, for that matter, that the Targum is to be translated "the Messiah", rather than "the anointed one"). The Servant may well have been conceived of by the sect as being "anointed", even as "the anointed one" in the special role of the Servant, but as we have seen there is a great difference between being anointed and being the Messiah. To equate an "anointed one" with "Messiah" is precarious practice, especially since there is nothing in this passage to indicate an identification with the Messiah. Of course Brownlee, following the lead of Barthélemy (cf. supra, p.313), points to the "anointing with the oil of gladness above your fellows" in Psalms 45:8 as supporting this viewpoint because the Targum on the context of that passage refers to the "King Messiah" (45:3).⁸⁰ But this is not valid. As G. Dalman pointed out so long ago, מָלִיךָ מְלִיךָ does not mean "King

80. W.H. Brownlee, BASOR 134, 1954, p.28.

Messiah", but "the anointed king", a reference to the contemporary ruler.⁸¹ (b) The text of 1QIs^a reads, if "anoint" is the word, "I anointed his appearance", and not "I anointed him", even though Barthélemy and Brownlee try to get the latter meaning out of the passage. This is rather a meaningless phrase, for as Rubinstein points out, the idea of anointing a person's appearance seems intrinsically unlikely.⁸² Thus any so-called parallel with the "anointing" in Psalm 45:8 cannot be sustained. (c) There is no indication in the passage, though Brownlee thinks so, that "anointing" is to be equated with "sprinkling with the Spirit", nor that when the Servant will "sprinkle"⁸³ many nations that means he will pour out the Spirit on them. Nowhere in the Scrolls is there any teaching that the Messiah would "baptize with the Holy Spirit", as did Jesus.⁸⁴ Furthermore even if the passage did teach the "anointing" of the Servant with the Spirit (as is said of the prophets in CD 2:12), this would not even mean that he would therefore be the Messiah. Again I point out, an "anointed one" is not a "Messiah". Therefore

81. G.Dalman, op. cit., p.293.

82. A.Rubinstein, loc. cit.

83. Even this is doubtful, and perhaps is "startle".

84. Some scholars seek to interpret CD 2:12 in this manner, but cf. appendix A, pp.10-22.

to see a Suffering Messiah in this passage is to force an exegesis which the facts do not support.

In light of these facts the best solution seems to be to read 'nnwn either as a copyist's error, or else as the hitherto unknown verb nwn, "transform, alter".⁸⁵ This latter suggestion by Guillaume has much to commend it, especially since the objects of the verb---"appearance" and "form"---seem to require some such meaning.

(2) Suffix changes

Further Messianic variants are found in the change from first to third person suffixes. (a) The first passage, and I am following the order and translation of Chamberlain, is lqis^a 51:4-8.

Attend to me, my people,
and give ear to me, my nation,
for TORAH will go forth from me,
and MY JUDGMENT I will establish as a light
for peoples.

Near is MY RIGHTEOUSNESS;
MY DELIVERANCE has gone forth,
and his arms will rule the peoples.
In him the coastlands trust,
and for his arm they wait.

. . . but MY SALVATION shall be forever,
and MY JUSTICE will never be confounded.
. . . but MY JUSTICE shall be forever,
and MY SALVATION to the ages.

85. The difficult nnwn in the MT is explained by C.C. Torrey, Second Isaiah. A New Interpretation (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1928), pp.415,416, as derived from the combination of nnwn (Hoph'al part.) and nnw (Niph'al part.). He claims that the MT vocalization was intended by the Massoretes to call attention to evidence of variant readings, and that the Niph'al was probably the original reading.

The significant variants are the three underlined changes from the first person suffix to the third person suffix. In the MT the reference is to the Lord, while in LQIs^a it is to a being other than Jahweh. Barthelémy, Brownlee, and Chamberlain claim that since God speaks in the first person, and the people are addressed in the second person, this latter figure is the Messiah as the personal embodiment of the Servant ideal,⁸⁶ and further, that the functions of God in this passage become his titles. Thus Chamberlain writes that here the "attributes and emanations of God are personified as descriptive names for the Messiah".⁸⁷ So "TORAH", "MY JUDGMENT", "MY RIGHTEOUSNESS", "MY DELIVERANCE", "MY SALVATION", and "MY JUSTICE" would be personal names of the Messiah, as similarly "Jahweh will save" (יְהוָה יִשְׁעוּ) is the name "Isaiah". This personification is then seen in other places throughout the book of Isaiah, as we shall see.

This interpretation is possible, for certainly the Messiah would be conceived of as bringing deliverance and establishing God's judgment over the nations. However,

86. W.H.Brownlee, NTS III, 1957, to be published, points to other parallels with the Servant in the fact that he is to be a light to the peoples (Isa. 42:6), he is characterized by Torah and judgment (42:1-3), he is to be the object of universal expectation (42:3), and is to be God's salvation "to the end of the earth" (49:6).

87. J.V.Chamberlain, op. cit., p.367.

though these scholars may be correct, it is not as decisive as they would lead us to believe. (1) This phenomenon is not unique to the Qumran scroll of Isaiah. It is in the MT itself, though on a lesser scale. Isaiah 42:4 says of the Servant, "He will not fail or be discouraged till he has established justice in the earth, and the coastlands wait for his law".⁸⁸ So also 62:11 reads, "Behold the Lord has proclaimed to the end of the earth, Say to the daughters of Zion, Behold your salvation comes, behold, his reward is with him, and his recompense before him". Brownlee and Chamberlain have noticed these verses, but have not given enough significance to them. In the first passage it is the Servant Israel (as seen from 42:1,19 and 43:10), and not the Messiah (as Chamberlain claims, p.369), who establishes justice and decrees laws. The second verse which personifies "your salvation" is a quote from 40:10 where it is God who is given the title. Consider also that the identical "title"---my salvation---is found in Isaiah 12:2 with reference to God; "Behold God is my salvation; I will trust, and will not be afraid".⁸⁹ The point is that these verses show that both

88. It is "laws" in LQIsa.

89. W.H.Brownlee, NTS III, 1957, to be published, goes to some length to show that "salvation" is a Messianic title in the Testaments and in the Gospels (cf. Luke 1:69-75; 2:24-32; Test.Naph. 8:2; Test.Gad 8:1; Test.Dan 5:10; Test.Joseph 19:11; also Jubilees 31:19; bBer. 57a; LQH 5:11ff.). It is undoubted that such is the case, but so is it also a title of the Servant Israel (Isa. 49:6; cf. also 42:1-8).

the investing of a being apart from God with judicial powers and the personification of functions need not be indications of any tampering with the text for "Messianic" reasons. They may simply show the fluidity of the textual tradition in pre-Massoretic times, or else merely scribal errors. Therefore these need not apply to the Messiah, nor must they be taken as personifications. They may just as easily be referring to the Servant Israel. The fact that God is already addressing the nation when He speaks of "his arms" need not hinder a reference to Israel as the Servant. A somewhat similar shift from the second to third person occurs in Isaiah 44:21-26. This is not to deny the possibility of these scholar's interpretation; it is merely to emphasize that there are other ways of understanding the passages.

(ii) The reference in the third person suffixes to Israel is further indicated by the fact that the language of verses 4 and 5 is clearly moulded on that of 42:1-4 where the Servant Israel assumes the same function of establishing justice on the earth. Notice the parallel: "the coastlands wait for his laws" (42:4); "the coastlands hope for him" (51:5).

(iii) One wonders, if the purpose of the Qumran scribe was to change the text for "Messianic" reasons, why he only

did it in the few places pointed out by these scholars. Certainly such as Isaiah 27:2-5 would have been changed if such was the scribe's purpose. It reads, "In that day, a pleasant vineyard, sing of it. I, the Lord, am its keeper . . . let them lay hold of my protection, let them make peace with me".

(iv) To base a Servant-Messiah teaching on a change in suffixes, especially from yodh to waw, and on nebulous personification of functions is somewhat precarious. Everywhere else in the Scrolls it is the community which is the Servant, or an individual speaking as the representative of the community (cf. chapter IV). W.H.Brownlee sees a Servant-Messiah in 1QS 4:10-23, but as we shall see later in this chapter (pp. ff.) the evidence is obscure. In the New Testament, where there is indeed a Servant-Messiah, the teaching concerning this is the central theme and cannot be mistaken. It is strange that if the Qumran sect held a similar view of their Messiah they veiled it in such obscure things as changes in suffixes and personifications of functions.

(b) 1QIsa^a 46:10. Chamberlain translates,

MY COUNSEL shall stand
and he shall accomplish all my purpose.

There is a change from the MT "and I will accomplish" Chamberlain refers this to the "Council of the Community" as the corporate Servant. This is possible, but the reference

is at best doubtful. The reading may be only a scribal error, especially since in the next verse (:11) God says, "I have spoken, and I will bring it to pass; I have purposed, and I will do it" (cf. also :13).

(c) 1QIs^a 51:1,7.

Listen to me, you who eagerly follow RIGHTEOUSNESS,
you who seek the Lord . . .
Listen to me, you who know RIGHTEOUSNESS,
Oh people in whose heart is MY TORAH.

Chamberlain comments, "the people of the Lord can be expected to understand this oracle because RIGHTEOUSNESS and TORAH are their Messiah".⁹⁰ This is rather tenuous. It is difficult to see how the Messiah could be in their hearts. There is no reason to personify these things.

(d) 1QIs^a 51:9.

Awake, awake!
Put on strength, O Arm of the Lord.

Chamberlain sees the reference to an agent of God, the Servant-Messiah. But this is unlikely since the following verses speak of the previous work of the "arm" as cutting "Rahab" in pieces, and piercing "the dragon", and there is clearly no hint of a pre-existent, supernatural Messiah in the Scrolls, as those verses would necessitate. The reference is undoubtedly to God.

90. J.V.Chamberlain, op. cit., p.368.

(e) 1QIs^a 42:1-4.

Behold my Servant, I uphold him,
my Chosen, my soul delights (in him);
I have put my spirit upon him,
he will bring forth his judgment . . .
He will not fail or be discouraged
till he has established judgment in the earth
and the coastlands wait for his laws.

I have already referred to this passage (cf. pp.319,320),
and shown that Chamberlain's identification with the Messiah
is unfounded. It is the Servant Israel in view. Undoubtedly,
as Chamberlain says (p.369), the Servant is given legal and
judicial authority, but this does not make him the Messiah.
The addition of a third person suffix on "judgment", and the
change to the plural "laws", does nothing to affect the
meaning of the MT.

(f) 1QIs^a 26:8.

O Lord, we await your Name,
and the desire of our soul is for YOUR TORAH.

There is nothing here, even though it is somewhat different
from the MT, to suggest the personification of "your Torah".
To do so is merely to eisegete.

(g) 1QIs^a 62:11.⁹¹

Behold YOUR DELIVERANCE comes,
behold, his reward is with him
and his recompense before him.

This is identical to the MT reading. Chamberlain says,

91. Cf. supra, p.319.

"Regardless of how the original (MT) author intended these to be understood, we can be sure in light of the scroll reading of li 5, that our sect interpreted many such references to mean the Messiah".⁹² I do not feel as "sure" of this interpretation. Even though the LXX and the Targum translate יְשׁוּעָה as "Deliverer", this does nothing to do away with a reference to God.

(h) lQIsa^a 1:21-27.

- :21 How the faithful city has become a harlot,
she that was full of JUSTICE!
RIGHTEOUSNESS lodged in her,
but now murderers.
- :24 Therefore, the Lord, YHWH of Hosts,
(the Mighty One of Israel) says:
Woe! I will vent my wrath on his enemies,
and avenge myself on his foes.
- :25 He will turn my hand against you,
- :26 Afterward you shall be called the city of
RIGHTEOUSNESS,
- :27 Zion shall be redeemed by JUSTICE,
and her penitents by RIGHTEOUSNESS.

The variants from the MT are the underlined pronouns. In the MT these are first person singular pronouns, and refer to Jahweh. In lQIsa^a Chamberlain first sees "justice" and "righteousness" in verse 21 as references to the sect in its ideal nature, then in the following verses the subject is the Messiah. Again this is possible, but rather strained

92. J.V.Chamberlain, op. cit., p.370.

oxegesis. The sudden insert of "his" is strange, and suggests perhaps a scribal error. The change from 17W1 to 17W11 in verse 25 may be a case of the occasional interchange of aleph and he in the Scrolls, suggesting copying "by ear". There are no solid reasons for seeing the Messiah in this passage. The personification of "justice" and "righteousness" is uncalled for. The reference in these terms is to 1:16,17 where God commands, "Wash yourselves; make yourselves clean . . . cease to do evil, learn to do good; seek justice, correct oppression". It is in this sense that Israel will be "redeemed by justice, and her penitents by righteousness".

(1) 1QIs^a 50:10.

Who among you are fearers of the Lord,
Him who hears the voice of His Servant?
Who (among you) walk in the darkness,
where there is no light?

Chamberlain writes, "The parallelism is not good here, and we may conclude that the MT reading is superior, but if we seek sectarian interpretation of the book of Isaiah, we must note that this sectarian scribe wrote that God heeds the voice of his Messianic Servant".⁹³ By "Messianic Servant" he means the Messiah, not Israel. But once again such an interpretation does not commend itself very strongly. "Servant" may just as easily be applied to corporate Israel, or

93. J.V. Chamberlain, op. cit., p.372.

to the individual faithful Israelite.⁹⁴

In summary the Qumran scroll of Isaiah does not present us with any clear evidence of Messianic teaching peculiar to the sect. The variants suggested by various scholars are at best slightly possible for understanding the future hopes of the men of Qumran. R.E.Brown⁹⁵ objects to Brownlee's interpretation of this data because it rests largely on lQIs^a having waw instead of yodh, and "there has been a good deal of confusion of these two letters in the Scrolls". This statement is true for parts of lQIs^a, but not for these passages. The distinction between waw and yodh is quite clear, and furthermore, there is obviously a variant in the first passage (51:5)---י'ל' for the MT י'ל'.

The War Scroll

This scroll is not interested in the description of the Messiah. It is primarily concerned with the supernatural aspect of future apocalyptic battles which will culminate in Armageddon and the total destruction of all of Israel's foes.

94. D.Barthelemy, op. cit., p.548, also lists lQIs^a 41:2 as a Messianic variant, where פ' is made the object of ה'ע'י, "who has raised up justice", but again the Messianic import is doubtful. W.H.Brownlee, NTS III, 1957, to be published, sees a reference to the Messiah of Aaron in lQIs^a 61:10, "He has covered me with the robe of righteousness, as a bridegroom, as a priest with a garland".

95. R.E.Brown, op. cit., pp.568,569.

The scroll contains very detailed regulations regarding the disposition of battle-lines, banners, trumpets, shields, spears, horsemen, warriors (אֲרִיָּה; cf. I Sam. 17:4,23 where the word is used of Goliath), that is, all the equipment and men that went with a great conflict in the years around the time of Christ. The battle-plans so carefully laid out make a definite distinction between the place of priest and layman. The priests are the leaders of the army, though they are to have no part in the actual battle. Their service consists mainly in sounding the trumpets which signalled the attack, the rest, the withdrawal, and all the other phases of the battle-scene. 1QM 9:7-9 commands, "And when the slain have fallen, the pr/iest/s shall sound (the trumpets) from a distance, but they shall not enter into the midst of the slain so as to be defiled by their impure blood, for they are holy and they shall n/ot/ profane the oil of their priestly anointing by the blood of a vain people".⁹⁶

The one in supreme command of the army is the high priest. 1QM 15:1ff. gives a description of what takes place prior to battle. The high priest is the central figure, for he details the plans of battle and directs the formation of the troops.

96. Cf. columns 7-9, 16-18.

And the high priest shall stand, and his brothers the priests, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites and all the men of the order with him. And he shall call on their ears the prayer of the appointed day of the war . . . and he will relate⁹⁷ the plan of campaign⁹⁸ with all the words of their songs. And he shall arrange there all the ranks (of war) . . . And the priest designated for the appointed day of vengeance shall walk to and fro, in accord with all his brothers, and he shall encourage . . . and he shall answer and say, Be strong and be bold and be sons of valor. Do not fear and do not . . . and do not be alarmed, and do not tremble before them, and do not turn your back . . . for they are a congregation of wickedness, and in darkness are all their deeds. (15:4-9)

1QM 7:9ff. also gives directions for the beginning of the war.

As the troops are all drawn up before they go out to fight, seven priests come out of one of the gates of Jerusalem and stand in the midst of the men. Six of the priests carry trumpets, but the job of the seventh is to pass in front of the ranks and to encourage them for the coming battle, literally, "to strengthen their hands in war" (7:12). This priest is called הכורן הראשון, "the first priest" (7:12), the same one who is known as הכורן המיוחד, "the designated priest", in the passage from column 15 quoted above (line 6). This figure is undoubtedly the high priest, for in 1QM 16:13,14 we find the same situation, and there it is unmistakable to whom the

97. המלחמה . . . והפר.

98. The text says literally, "the order of his time", but I have translated according to the suggestion of J. van der Ploeg, "La Règle de la guerre. Traduction et notes", VT V, 1955, p.416.

text refers.⁹⁹ It reads, "then the high priest (זאקן זאקן) shall approach and shall stand before the rank and shall encourage their hearts" These passages depict the general of the army addressing his men before they begin the attack. And what does he tell them? I believe that columns 10-13 contain the text of his message.¹⁰⁰ There we find the high priest (זאקן; 10:2) standing before the people at the time of their "drawing near to war". These columns are extremely important for they provide the key to the Messianic doctrine of the War Scroll. An outline of columns 10-13 will help us therefore to see more clearly the various ideas that the author sets forth.

10:1-16

The high priest first of all calls for calmness in the face of impending danger. "Hear O Israel, with those drawing near this day to war against your enemies, do not fear" The priest continues with a reiteration of the greatness of God. "Who is like Thee, O God of Israel, in the heavens or on the earth? Who hast wrought as Thy great deeds and as

99. This of course is parallel to the instruction in Deut. 20:1ff. where the high priest (there he is simply called "the priest") addresses the people of Israel. H.L.Ginsberg, "The Hebrew University Scrolls from the Sectarian Cache", BASOR 112, 1948, p.19, thinks that the זאקן זאקן is the priest "anointed for war", according to the Rabbinic interpretation of Deut. 20:3.

100. Columns 15, 16 and 19 also give parts of his message, but the fullest text is found in columns 10-13.

Thy strong might? And who is like Thy people Israel whom Thou hast chosen for Thyself from all the peoples of the lands, the people of the holy ones of the covenant?" The important point that the priest is stressing is that since God is on the side of Israel they cannot be defeated.

11:1-5a

The priest gives a review of the past deeds of might that God had performed for Israel. "Goliath the Gattite, a mighty man of strength" was conquered by David because of God's great name. The priest goes on, "For to Thee is the war, and the Philistines Thou hast humbled many times by Thy holy name, and also by the hand of our kings Thou hast saved us many times" (11:2,3). The emphasis throughout of total dependance on God is summed up in the recurring phrase

11:5b-7a

The picture changes to the future scene. The prophecy of Numbers 24:17,18 is repeated.

A star shall come forth from Jacob, a sceptre shall arise from Israel. And he shall smite the corners of Moab and destroy all the sons of Seth, and he shall go down from Jacob and destroy the survivor from the city, and the enemy shall be a possession, and Israel shall do valiantly.

Here is the expectation of a single person. There is no division into two persons---a "star" and a "sceptre"---as there is in CD 7:18-21. The scroll clearly proclaims the

Old Testament hope of an earthly leader.

11:7b-17

Here the priest uses history and prophecy to set forth the ultimate destruction of the wicked. The chief agents are the people of Israel empowered and directed by God.

(1) In a reference to Deuteronomy 7:1 the bringing down of "seven vain nations by the hand of the poor of Thy redeemed" is predicted.¹⁰¹ (2) The Exodus story is reflected in the promise that God would do to the troops of Belial as He did to "Pharoah" and "the officers of his chariots in the Red Sea". (3) Taking an utterance from Zechariah 12:6 the priest promises that "the stricken of spirit Thou wilt cause to burn as a torch of fire among the sheaves, consuming wickedness".¹⁰² (4) The fate of the Kittim is seen by an exact quotation from the prophecy of Isaiah 31:8, "And from of old Thou hast destroyed them by the strength of Thy hand on the Kittim saying, And Asshur shall fall by a sword not of a man; a sword not of a man will consume him". (5) In lines 13-17 the author draws upon the Gog prophecy of Ezekiel

101. "When the Lord your God brings you into the land which you are entering to take possession of it, and clears away many nations before you, the Hittites, the Gargashites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations greater and mightier than yourselves".

102. "On that day (the Day of the Lord) I will make the clans of Judah like a blazing pot in the midst of wood, like a flaming torch among the sheaves . . ." (cf. Isa. 31:9).

38 and 39.¹⁰³ In fact in line 17 we read of "judgments against Gog and against all his congregation, the ones assembled against you . . ." (cf. Ezek. 38:7). The text also reads "to return the recompense of wickedness on the head of the gu^llty of the nations⁷ and to exercise the judgment of Thy truth among all the sons of men, and to make for Thyself an eternal name among the people . . . and to magnify Thyself and to cause Thyself to be hallowed before the eyes of the re^mnaⁿt of the na^tioⁿs, so that ^lthey will⁷ know ^lthat Thou art the Lord . . .⁷" (:13-16).¹⁰⁴ Here it is a clear reference to Ezekiel 38:23.¹⁰⁵ Finally the reading in line 17, "For Thou shalt fight against them from the heavens" may be a reference to Ezekiel 38:22 where God promises to "rain upon" Gog and his hordes "torrential rains and hailstones, fire and brimstone".

103. M. Black, "The Messiah(s) of Aaron and Israel", unpublished paper, goes so far as to call the War Scroll a "midrashic development, in relation to the writer's own times and experience . . . of the description of the Day of the Lord in Ezek. xxxvii".

104. The lacunae in lines 15 and 16 are restored as:
^l ה' יצא לך לדעת כִּי אַתָּה יְהוָה .

105. "And I will magnify Myself and cause Myself to be hallowed, and I will make Myself known in the eyes of many nations, and they will know that I am the Lord" (cf. 39:7,25).

12:1-5

The common War Scroll theme of angelic hosts coming to the help of the people of Israel is herein depicted.

For a multitude of holy ones is in the heavens, and hosts of angels are in Thy holy abode to praise Thy name.¹⁰⁶ And the chosen of Thy holy people Thou hast placed for Thyself among the living; and the book¹⁰⁷ of the names of all their hosts is with Thee in Thy holy habitation, and the number of the righteous¹⁰⁸ ones in Thy glorious abode. And Thy blessed mercies, and Thy complete covenant Thou hast engraved for them with a stylus of life, in order to rule . . . in all the congregations of eternity, and in order to visit the hosts of Thy chosen ones¹⁰⁹ according to their thousands, and according to their ten thousands, together with Thy holy ones and with Thy angels, in order to possess a hand in war, and Thou hast made them the avengers¹¹⁰ of the earth in the controversy of Thy judgments, and with the chosen ones of the heavens

12:7-18

This important section describes the לְיָמֵי הַיְּהוּדִים when the hosts of God are all seen as bringing destruction upon the enemy. There are two pivotal passages in this section--- 7-10a and 10b-15. Let us examine them separately.

106. לְהַלְלוֹת לְשֵׁם כְּבוֹד.

107. וְכָתוּב בְּסֵפֶר הַחַיִּים ; cf. CD 2:13; 20:19; Dan. 12:1; Ex. 32:32; Psa. 69:29; I Enoch 47:3; 93:2.

108. וְכָתוּב בְּסֵפֶר הַחַיִּים.

109. וְכָתוּב בְּסֵפֶר הַחַיִּים.

110. וְכָתוּב בְּסֵפֶר הַחַיִּים.

And Thou, O God, aw/esome/¹¹¹ in the glory of
 Thy kingdom,
 And (in) the assembly of Thy holy ones,
 Art in our midst for eter/nal/ help.
 /With/¹¹² us is contempt for kings,
 Derision and scoffing for mighty men,
 For holy is Adonai,
 And the king of glory is with us,
 With strong holy ones;
 A host of angels is with our commanders,
 And the mighty one of war is in our assembly,
 And the host of his spirits is with our army
 and o/ur/ horsemen,
 /As/ clouds and as thick mist for the covering
 of the land,
 And as a down-pouring of many showers,
 To give the drink of judgment to all her offspring.
 (12:7-10a)

Until recently the קדוש וּמֶלֶךְ and the קֹדֶשׁ אֱדוֹנָי have not been the subject of much discussion, possibly because the general opinion was that these terms undoubtedly referred to God. However M.Black has suggested that we are to understand the phrases as descriptions of a human figure (or figures), and would read line 8 as "the holy one of Adonai and the King of glory is with us".¹¹³ The "holy one of Adonai" he would either identify separately with the high priest, who plays an important role in the battle, or else as the Messiah, and therefore in apposition with the "King

111. נִרְאָה .

112. עוֹלָם יָמָם אֶתְנוּ .

113. M.Black, loc. cit. The Hebrew is קדוש אדוני ומלך
הַכְבוֹד אֶתְנוּ

of glory".¹¹⁴ He claims further that "in neither case is it possible to interpret 'king of glory' of Jahweh himself (in a parallel with 'the holy one of Adonai')".¹¹⁵ He is correct of course in this last statement if we are to read 'קדוש אדנאי', "the holy one of Adonai". However I believe that context requires that we read it as 'אדנאי קדוש', "holy is Adonai" or "a Holy One is Adonai",¹¹⁶ and see in it, as well as in 'אלהינו', a reference to God.

Notice the following facts: (1) The parallel in lines 7 and 8 requires that God be the figure in view throughout. "Awesome" is conjectural, for all that is visible of 'אדנאי' is the nun, however it appears to be correct, especially in light of two passages in the Psalms. Psalm 99:3,4 reads, "Let them praise Thy great and awesome ('אדנאי') name. Holy ('קדוש') is He, and a mighty king ('מלך')".¹¹⁷ Psalm 111:9 says, "Holy and awesome is His name". These Psalms passages are important to the understanding of the parallel

114. But one would not expect to find the copula here, if the latter were the case.

115. M.Black, loc. cit.

116. J. van der Floeg, op. cit., p.306, reads "le Seigneur saint", but this is not strictly speaking a correct translation, for it implies 'קדוש אדנאי' in the text.

117. The text is difficult and reads 'אלהינו מלך'. I have followed the conjecture of Kittel, 'אלהינו מלך'.

here in 1QM, for they establish the connection between אֱלֹהִים, וְקָדוֹשׁ, and מֶלֶךְ in a description of God. The same terms are used in lines 7 and 8 with reference to Him. Notice the parallel: (a) in line 7 it says "O God, awesome"; in line 8 it is "holy is Adonai"; (b) line 7 speaks of God "in the glory of Thy kingdom"; line 8 states "the king of glory"; (c) line 7 proclaims that God is "in our midst for eternal help"; line 8 parallels this with "the king of glory is with us, with strong holy ones". The author does not speak of God in line 7, and then switch to a human figure in line 8. The person of God is seen throughout this passage by three separate descriptions. In line 7 it is simply "God" in the midst of Israel, in line 8a it is the "king of glory" with strong holy ones, and in line 8b and 9 it is the "mighty one of war" with the host of his spirits.¹¹⁸

118. Cf. Zech. 14:5, "The Lord my God will come, (and) His holy ones with Him" (reading וְקָדוֹשׁ with the LXX and Vulgate in place of the MT וְקָדוֹשׁ). So also 1QM 13:13-16 depicts God as personally coming to the help of Israel: "Who is as Thee in might, O God of Israel, and with the poor is the hand of Thy strength . . . from of old Thou hast appointed for Thyself a great day of drawing near . . . to destroy all sons of darkness". It is clear in 1QM that the sect expected heavenly help throughout their wars. We read in 10:4,5 of the priest exhorting the people not to be afraid in battle "for your God walks with you to fight for you against your enemies, in order to save you". The instruction in 7:4-7 is that every warrior is to be "clean" because "holy angels accompany their troops"; cf. 1QSa 2:8,9, "holy angels (are present) in their congregation". The use of יָמִים throughout the scroll (יָמִים, יָמִים, 1:10; יָמִים, 1:11; יָמִים, קָדוֹשׁ, 13:14; etc.) has the familiar sense of "period" (cf. Gen. 2:4).

(2) The parallel with Psalm 24:8 makes it almost certain that the reference is to God. It reads, "Who is the king of glory? The Lord, strong and mighty, the Lord, a mighty one of war". In this passage we have identical terms---הַיְהוָה הַגִּבּוֹר and הַיְהוָה הַמִּלְחָמָה---as descriptions of Jah-
weh.¹¹⁹ It is difficult to see how the parallel could be any closer. Perhaps there is also a relationship to Exodus 15:3. The MT has הַיְהוָה הַגִּבּוֹר, but the Samaritan Pentateuch reads הַיְהוָה הַמִּלְחָמָה, and the LXX translates κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους, which may easily go back to הַיְהוָה הַגִּבּוֹר. The MT is supported by the Targumim and the Vulgate, while the Peshitta reads ܠܠܗܝܢ ܥܡܠܐܢܐ. In bSanh. 98b, Jeremiah 30:6 is explained, "Ask you now and see whether a man travails with child? Wherefore do I see everyman (הַגִּבּוֹר) with his hands on his loins, as a woman in travail . . . ? What is meant by 'Wherefore do I see every הַגִּבּוֹר?' Raba b. Isaac said in Rab's name: It refers to Him to whom all strength (הַגִּבּוֹר) belongs".¹²⁰ The picture therefore in 8b-10 is exactly that of lines 7 and 8a.

(3) The prophecy of Ezekiel 38 is quite evident in these

119. Cf. also Psa. 35:1-3; 46:8-10; Deut. 10:17; Neh. 9:32; Isa. 10:21; Jer. 32:18; also J. Carmignac, "Les citations de l'Ancien Testament dans 'La Guerre des fils de la lumière contre les fils des ténèbres'", RB LXII, 1956, p.256.

120. Pointed out by J.V. Chamberlain, "Another Qumran Thanksgiving Psalm", JNES XIV, 1955, p.40.

lines. The picture of the hosts of angels and the mighty one of war covering the land as "clouds" is taken from 38:9 and 16, where however the picture is reversed and the "cloud" is Gog, the enemy of Israel (cf. 1QM 19:12; Jer. 4:13). Possibly the reference to giving "the drink of judgment" is an allusion to 38:22, "and I will rain upon him (Gog) and his hordes and the many peoples that are with him, torrential rains and hailstones, fire and brimstone".

(4) The description of God as a "Holy One" is familiar in the Old Testament.¹²¹ Isaiah 12:6 proclaims, "Shout and sing for joy, O inhabitant of Zion, for great in your midst is the Holy One of Israel" (cf. 10:17,20; etc.). The Lord says in Ezekiel 39:7, "And My holy name I will make known in the midst of My people Israel; and I will not let My holy name be profaned anymore; and the nations shall know that I am the Lord, the Holy One in Israel". The fact that columns 11 and 12 breath the very atmosphere of Ezekiel 38 and 39 makes this reference even more important. Ezekiel prophecies that at the destruction of Gog, God will make the nations know that He is a "Holy One". The author of 1QM echoes the same thing in 12:8 (which is also at the time of Gog's

121. J.Carmignac, op. cit., p.255, claims that קדוש אדוני is a quote from Psa. 99:9, though the manuscript substitutes אדוני for יהוה (cf. 1QIsa^a 3:20,24,25; 7:27; 22:20; 24:25; 52:18 for a similar practice).

destruction), "for a Holy One is Adonai".¹²² In the opening words of I Enoch we find God described as "the Holy One in the heavens" (1:2). Elsewhere in the book He is known either by this title or by "the Holy and Great One".¹²³ Consider also that in I Enoch 1:3ff. the picture is the same as in 1QM---God (the "Holy and Great One") coming with His angels to tread in judgment on the earth.

(5) It is of course possible to read '177K W77P either as "holy is Adonai" or "the holy one of Adonai". However aside from the matter of context, which must be our final court of appeal in any case, I would suggest that the similar, though fragmentary, account of this address appearing in 1QM 19:1ff. gives added weight to the reading "holy is Adonai". In 19:1 there is a change to the reading '7771 '1777K W77P '7777; in other words, '1777K has been substituted for '177K.¹²⁴ The rest of the text is almost identical with column 12. Here it is clearer and more natural to read as I suggest for column 12, that is, as a predicate adjective, "holy is our majestic one", rather than "the holy one of our majestic one". It is not possible to read "the holy one,

122. Cf. L.Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, III, pp. 34ff. for a similar use of "Holy One" as applied to God.

123. Cf. 10:1; 14:1; 25:3; 84:1; 92:2; 93:11; 97:6; 98:6; 104:9.

124. J.Carmignac, op. cit., p.256, claims that in this variant "nous avons affaire à de banales confusions visuelles".

our majestic one", for the text would then have to read
 ַןִּיִּתְּאָה וְיִתְּקָהּ.

(6) If it is true, and it appears so to be, that columns 10-12 comprise the address of the high priest, it is impossible to equate ַןִּיִּתְּאָה וְיִתְּקָהּ with the high priest as a figure alongside of the ַןִּיִּתְּאָה ַןִּיִּתְּקָהּ. Even if one reads "the holy one of Adonai" there can only be one figure, for the two terms would then be in apposition.

(7) The phrase "king of glory" is only applied to God in the Old Testament.¹²⁵ It is true that somewhat similar words are used with reference to an earthly king. Psalm 45:4 reads, "Gird your sword upon your thigh, O mighty one, in your glory (ַןִּיִּתְּאָה) and majesty", but this is not the same as the unique title ַןִּיִּתְּאָה ַןִּיִּתְּקָהּ. We have seen that Psalm 24:8 calls God "the king of glory" (cf. also 24:7,9,10). Notice also Psalm 102:17 which promises that "the Lord will build up Zion, He will appear in His glory". In this last verse we have a clear parallel to CD 20:25,26, "But as for all those of the members of the covenant who have broken out of the boundary of the Law, when the glory of God will appear unto Israel they shall be cut off from the midst of the camp". Exodus 24:17 speaks of the ַןִּיִּתְּאָה ַןִּיִּתְּקָהּ.¹²⁶ In

125. Cf. I Cor. 2:8,

126. Cf. 40:34; Num. 14:10; II Macc. 2:8; Sib.Ora. 5:427.

I Enoch 25:3 God is called "the Lord of glory (praise), the eternal king" (X7HΛ N-0Λt 47-ω HΛ9Λ90).¹²⁷

It should be pointed out that the Son of Man in I Enoch is described as sitting "on the throne of his glory" (0-0ΛtU; 62:5), and as taking the place of God in judgment and in wrath (69:27). However it is quite clear that there is no Son of Man parallel in 1QM. The anointed leader for whom the sect waited was a human figure, even though he may have been divinely endowed. He was a sceptre who would arise from Israel, a star who would come forth from Jacob (column 11).

The evidence therefore compels me to equate the terms 71778 W17P, 71778 71778, and 71778 71778 with God, and not with the Messiah. The use in context, the similarity with Old Testament descriptions of God, the exact parallel with Psalm 24:8, and the duplicate account in 1QM 19 all point to this conclusion.

The second important passage in this section, 10b-15, continues the theme of battle.

Rise up, O mighty one,
Bring back thy captives, O man of glory,
Seize thy spoil, O thou who doest valiantly.
Lay thy hand on the necks of thy enemies,

¹²⁷. Cf. also 22:14; 25:3,7; 27:3,5; 36:4; 40:3; 63:2; 83:8; Sib.Ora. 7:713.

And thy foot on the heaps of the slain.
 Smite the nations who are thy enemies,
 And let thy sword consume guilty flesh.
 Fill thy land with glory,
 And thy inheritance with blessing.
 Let there be an abundance of cattle in thy
 territories,
 Silver and gold and precious stones in thy
 temples.
 O Zion, rejoice exceedingly;
 Appear with glad shouts, O Jerusalem;
 And give praise, all ye cities of Judah.
 Open thy gates continually,
 That the wealth of nations may be brought in
 to thee;
 And their kings shall serve thee,
 And all that have afflicted thee shall bow
 down to thee,
 And lick the dust of thy feet.
 O daughters of my people¹²⁸ cry aloud with
 the sound of a glad shout;
 Deck yourselves with glorious adornments.

There are three ways in which this passage might be interpreted. J.T.Milik suggests that here we have a hymn by the Messiah of Aaron (the high priest) which celebrates the triumph of the Messiah of Israel, the "mighty one", the "man of glory".¹²⁹ It is also possible that the figure in view is God, and the passage is a continuation of His warrior role as described in 7-10a. A third possibility is that the hymn is addressed to the warriors of Israel. The high priest is giving the call to battle, "Rise up, O mighty one, bring back thy captives, O man of glory". Such is the prophecy regarding

128. וַעֲפֹר בְּגָדֶיךָ יִלְחֹכוּ בְּנוֹתָ עָמִי.

129. Cf. D.Barthélemy and J.T.Milik, op. cit., p.129.

Israel in Ezekiel 39:10, "for they will make their fires of the weapons (of Gog), they will despoil those who despoiled them, and plunder those who plundered them, says the Lord God". Also in Isaiah 14:2 the promise is that "the house of Israel . . . will bring back those who were their captors, and rule over those who oppressed them".

These three options lie before us, however it is difficult to make a definite decision. There are parallels in language to the Old Testament which could be applied to anyone of the three. As Milik has pointed out, the prophecy regarding Judah (Gen. 49:10) is echoed in the phrase יְדָה בְּעֹרֶךָ אֲרִיבֶיכָה. This would of course indicate a Davidic figure. However his parallel with the Balaam prophecy (Num. 24) of וַיִּשְׁמַע ה' וַיִּסַּח וַיִּשְׁמַח וַיִּשְׂמַח וַיִּשְׂמַח is dubious. In the first place וַיִּשְׁמַח ה' in verse 18 is in reality applied to Israel as a whole (though of course led by the sceptre), and secondly Psalms 118:15,16 contains the same phrase in reference to God---יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ ה' וַיִּשְׁמַח וַיִּשְׂמַח וַיִּשְׂמַח. The word וַיִּשְׂמַח is not only used of the sceptre (Num. 24:17), but is also found in various places where God is the subject, such as Psalms 110:5, "The Lord . . . will smite kings on the day of His wrath". Considering all the factors the best interpretation appears to be the understanding of "man of glory" and "mighty one" as references to God.

(1) There is a continuation of the theme of lines 7-10a. God and His angels are at hand for Israel's help. So the

priest invokes the Lord, "Rise up, O Mighty One", now is the time of battle, today is the moment of vindication for Thy people, "smite the nations who are thy enemies".¹³⁰ As the troops are drawn up in readiness for the attack, it is a call for God to begin His work on Israel's behalf. The use of the term "man of glory" is a continuation of the idea in "king of glory". A reference to God as W^{K} ($\text{לך} \text{W}^{\text{K}}$) is not incompatible with His nature, as we saw from Exodus 15:3.

(2) Throughout the whole War Scroll the Messiah is in the background. The theme is supernatural and angelic. God's might, God's power are in the foreground. He is the person to whom praise is ascribed, He is the figure who is seen as destroying the enemy, He is the one who empowers Israel for battle. Though there are certain details in the scroll as to how the warriors of God are to conduct the battle, yet it is always God and His angels who are the ones that bring about victory. This of course is common in apocalyptic, as we have seen. H.W. Robinson notes, "Because apocalyptic throws such emphasis on the divine intervention, it leaves little room for 'self-help', and the rather slighting reference of Daniel (xi.34) to the Maccabean Revolt is characteristic of the

¹³⁰. In similar fashion Isaiah invokes God to "awake" to battle (51:9).

general attitude. It is God Who brings about the imminent change in human affairs for which the apocalyptists hope".¹³¹ It is this emphasis that is found in Psalm 110:5 (quoted above). The one who would actually wield the sword would be the man of Israel, but to the author of the Psalm "the Lord . . . will smite kings on the day of His wrath". The War Scroll clearly exhibits this same viewpoint. Only four out of the nineteen columns do not contain a reference to the help of God. The trumpets are inscribed with terms such as Called of God, Princes of God, Testimonies of God, Peace of God, Mighty Deeds of God, Appointed Time of God, Might of God, Mysteries of God, Rejoicings of God (column 3). The banners contain phrases like People of God, Wrath of God, Strength of God, Songs of God, Truth of God, Righteousness of God, Glory of God, Right Hand of God, War of God, Greatness of God, Salvation of God (column 4).¹³² The spears have written upon them such as The Edge of the Sword Devours the Slain of Sin by the Judgment of God (column 6). Everywhere one finds terms like "the war of God" (9:5), "Michael . . . Sariel . . . Raphael" (9:15,16), "your God walks with you to fight for you" (10:4),

131. H.W. Robinson, Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament (Oxford: Clarendon, 1946), p.119.

132. Cf. W. Vischer, "Les manuscrits découverts en Palestine", ETR XXIV, 1949, pp.29-35, for a discussion of the liturgical nature of this vocabulary.

"the sword of God" (19:11). I cannot stress this fact enough; the holy war in which Israel is to engage is pre-dominantly supernatural.

(3) The terms of the hymn as a whole are more adaptable to God. (a) We have already seen that He is called both a ליל נאץ (:11) and a ליל (:10) in the Old Testament.¹³³ (b) The phrase ליל נאץ (:10) is not used of God elsewhere, however in Messianic days it is always the glory of the Lord that will be covering the land. Psalm 72:19 says, "May His glory fill the whole earth". Habakkuk 2:14 promises that "the earth will be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as waters cover the sea".¹³⁴ These passages are more striking when one reads in the 1QM hymn, "Fill thy land with glory" (:12). The whole 60th chapter of Isaiah is almost a duplicate of 1QM 12, and there the author stresses the glory of God in the last days---"the Lord will rise upon you, and His glory will be seen upon you" (60:2; cf. 60:1,9,19). This is also reminiscent of 1QM 12:10, "Rise up, O Mighty One". (c) 1QM 19:4 parallels 12:12 with "let Thy sword consume guilty flesh", and later in 19:11 the subject of this phrase.

133. Cf. 1QM 10:9 where it is said of God, "as Thy strong might (כבודך החזק)"; also the Book of Noah (Barthelemy and Milik, op. cit., p.152) where God is described as ליל נאץ.

134. Cf. Isa. 24:13; 40:5; Zech. 2:9; Ezek. 43:2; Haggai 2:7; Num. 14:21; Psa. 97:6.

is made clear by, "they have fallen there by the sword of God". (d) The fact that the land of Israel is God's heritage (:12) is pointed out by Jeremiah 2:7, where God condemns the people because they "made My heritage an abomination".¹³⁵ (e) 1QM 12:12,13 invokes the "man of glory" to fill the temples with "silver and gold and precious stones". In Isaiah 60:17 God promises, "Instead of bronze I will bring gold, and instead of iron I will bring silver; instead of wood, bronze, instead of stones, iron". (f) The hymn in lines 13b-15 is clearly parallel to Isaiah 60:9ff. In the context of Isaiah God is the central figure, and there He is even called a "Holy One" (60:9,14).¹³⁶

What then is the Messianic hope of the War Scroll? First of all it should be noticed that there is no technical use of מִשְׁחָה. The word occurs only two times in 1QM. In 9:8 the directions are for the priests to stay away from the slain so as not to profane the "oil of their priestly anointing" (מִשְׁחָה מִן־הַמִּשְׁחָה הַזֶּה). In 11:7 the reference is to

135. Cf. 12:8,9; 16:18; 50:11; Isa. 19:24,25.

136. Perhaps Isa. 40 also indicates that God is the figure in this passage. "And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed" says 40:4. In 40:9 the prophet continues with "Get thee up to a high mountain, O Zion, herald of good tidings; lift up thy voice with strength, O Jerusalem, herald of good tidings; lift it up, fear not. Say to the cities of Judah, Behold thy God. Behold the Lord God comes with might and His arm rules for Him". So in 1QM the cry is "O Zion, rejoice exceedingly; appear with glad shouts, O Jerusalem; and give praise, all ye cities of Judah".

the prophets in the words, "by the hand of Thy anointed ones (בְּיַד מְשִׁיחֶיךָ), the seers of ordained things".

Second, there are only two places where the scroll even mentions the Messiah. One of them we have already discussed ---the sceptre and star prophecy of Numbers 24 (1QM 11:5b-7a). This can only refer to a single, human figure. The other is found in 5:1,2, "and upon the shi[eld] of the prince of all the congregation (וְעַל כָּל הָעָם) they shall write [his] name [and] the name of Israel and Levi and Aaron, and the names of the twelve tribes of Israel according to their generations, and the names of the twelve princes of their tribes" (cf. 1QSb 5:20). Here there is an exact parallel to the Messianic description in CD 7:20, "the sceptre is the prince of all the congregation". There can be no doubt that this is the Messiah, the military leader and future king. However his exact place in battle, and any details about him, are left unsaid.

Third, we have noticed that two Biblical passages play a large part in this scroll---Daniel 11,12 (cf. supra, pp. 159-165) and Ezekiel 38,39. It is noteworthy that both of these have the same primary emphasis as 1QM, that is, the supernatural aspect of the final war. Neither Daniel nor Ezekiel depict a human figure engaged in the war; in both it is God and His hosts who fight for Israel. So in the War Scroll it is God who is the "king of glory" and the "mighty

one of war".

Four, the priestly leadership of the armies of Israel is important to remember. The high priest was the general who planned the attack; the priests were the ones who directed the battle by the blowing of their trumpets. The Messiah, by the very priestly emphasis of the scroll, is placed in the background.

With these four facts in mind the conclusions to be drawn are these: the War Scroll undoubtedly looked for a human figure, an anointed one, who would actually lead the troops into battle. He would not be, however, the supreme commander, for this was the job of the high priest. Whether this warrior would be a Davidic descendant is not clear. At least he was not a priest, for the priest had no part in the actual fighting. Since there is no antipathy to David in the scroll, and since there is no discussion of descent, the Messianic hope was no doubt Biblical. The group at this time looked for the re-establishment of the Davidic monarchy. However the chief interest of the writer of the War Scroll was the Armageddon scene, and the fact that it was God and His angels who would accomplish the victory. The human element, though of course discussed, was in reality only secondary. This is the reason for the sparsity of references to the Messiah. The new kingdom would be administered by a

human ruler, but to the War Scroll its theocratic character overshadowed this fact. So we find in 1QM 6:6, "and the kingship shall be to the God of Israel".

The Psalms of Thanksgiving

We have seen that this scroll stands more in the company of Old Testament eschatology than that of the later Jewish apocalyptic books. There is no resurrection. Its Sheol doctrine is Biblical. The concept of Jahweh living on earth is early. Even its use of symbolism is moderate, and reflects the Old Testament style more than the later excessive use of metaphors. When we turn to its view of the Messiah we again see the influence of the Old Testament. The Messiah is awaited, but plays a strictly secondary role.

I was in distress as a woman in travail¹³⁷
 Bringing forth her first born,¹³⁸
 For [her] birth pangs came suddenly,
 And an agonizing pain with her birth-throes,¹³⁹

137. Cf. 1QH 5:30,31; Isa. 13:8; 21:3; 66:7-9; Jer. 4:31; 6:22-26; 31:7,8 for similar references to Israel as a woman giving birth.

138. מַבְכִּירִיָּה, Pu'al part. from בָּכַר, a reference to the first members of the sect and to the troubles that went with their rise into influence.

139. מַשְׁבִּירִיָּה; cf. Baumgarten and Mansoor, "Studies in the New Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns) II", JBL LXXIV, 1955, p.199, note 12, for discussion of this word.

To cause writhing in the womb¹⁴⁰ of the pregnant woman.¹⁴¹
 For children have come to the waves of death,¹⁴²
 And she who conceived a male child¹⁴³ was distressed
 by her pains,
 For with the waves of death she shall be delivered
 of a man-child,
 And with pains of Sheol there shall break forth from
 :10 the womb of the pregnant woman
 A wondrous counselor in his might;¹⁴⁴
 And there shall come forth safely a male child from
 the throes of birth
 By the woman who was pregnant with him.
 All birth pangs came quickly,¹⁴⁵
 And agonizing pains at their birth,
 And terror to those who were pregnant with them;
 And at the time of his birth all pangs shall come
 suddenly in the womb of the pregnant woman.¹⁴⁶
 (3:7-12)

140. רַכַּב, "in the furnace"; רַכַּב is used as a euphemism for the female pudenda; cf. 1QH 5:16 where רַכַּב refers to a refining furnace. These lines speak of the pre-Messianic woes. Cf. L. H. Silberman, "Language and Structure in the Hodayot (1QH 3)", JBL LXXV, 1956, pp.99-103 for discussion of רַכַּב and רַכַּב.

141. הָרִיָּה; only in the Old Testament in Hosea 14:1. As Chamberlain points out ("Further Elucidation of a Messianic Thanksgiving Psalm from Qumran", JNES XIV, 1955, p.182, note 10), in 1QH 9:30 it is in parallel with "mother"; cf. Hosea 2:7; Song. of Sol. 3:4.

142. Cf. II Kgs. 19:3; Isa. 37:3. The "children" here are again the members of the sect who, because of persecution, have come close to the "waves of death".

143. Cf. Rev. 12:5 where "male child" (υἱὸν ἄρσεν) refers to the Messiah brought forth by the mother Israel.

144. Cf. Isa. 9:5.

145. J.V. Chamberlain, JNES XIV, 1955, p.34, translates "feel pain", alluding to the Talmudic sense of the word.

146. Notice the distinction; הָרִיָּה, "their birth", refers to the first members of the sect upon whom birth pangs came (perfect tense), a repetition of the description of the birth of the "first-born"; רַכַּב, "his birth", refers to the Messiah and the pains which will come (imperfect tense) at his birth.

This passage has already been discussed quite thoroughly by various authors.¹⁴⁷ The general, and undoubtedly correct, interpretation is that here we have depicted the birth of the Messiah in the midst of great tribulation. W.H.Brownlee identifies the "man-child" with the Messiah, and the pregnant woman with the "Essene community".¹⁴⁸ So the "I" of the psalm, who is the woman about to give birth, would be used like the "I" of the Psalter, that is, as a representative speaking on behalf of the whole community.¹⁴⁹

J.V.Chamberlain also holds to this interpretation, though he does not like the identification of the Isaianic phrase "a wondrous counselor" with the Messiah, because if so the sect must also have accepted the "mighty god" of

147. Cf. W.H.Brownlee, "John the Baptist in the New Light of Ancient Scrolls", Interpretation IX, 1955, pp.79,80; J.V. Chamberlain, JNES XIV, 1955, pp.32-41, 181-182; M.Black, loc. cit.; G.Vermes, Les manuscrits du désert de Juda, pp.193ff.; A.Dupont-Sommer, "La mère du Messie et la mère de l'Aspic dans un hymne de Qoumran", RHR CXLVII, 1955, pp.174-188; "Les manuscrits de la Mer Morte; leur importance pour l'histoire des religions", Numen II, p.188; J.Baumgarten and M.Mansoor, op. cit., pp.188ff. Generally 3:12b-18 is included in the discussion of this passage, where many read of the birth of a "viper", a so-called "anti-Christ". But this appears to me to be incorrect, and I have, as we have seen, included it in the discussion of the nature of the eschaton; cf. supra, p.88.

148. W.H.Brownlee, loc. cit.; cf. bBer. 35b (interpreting Prov. 28:24) where "father" is equated with "God", and "mother" with "the community of Israel".

149. Cf. Jer. 6:22-26 where the "daughter of Zion", who is in travail-like pain due to persecution, is the collective representation of Israel.

Isaiah 9:5 as a name of the Messiah. This he thinks would be almost impossible in Judaism.¹⁵⁰ However Brownlee points out that "mighty god" is one of the theophorous components of the Messianic king in Isaiah 9, and as was the practice with such names, they did not deify the bearer, but expressed an aspect of the deity in the life of the one so named.¹⁵¹ Thus the Messiah is "mighty god" because the might of God is to be revealed in his life. In reference to this Baumgarten and Mansoor suggest that the author of the psalm understood גביר אלה in Isaiah 9:5 as a human epithet, contrary to normative Jewish interpretation, and that possibly he translated גביר אלה as "mighty hero".¹⁵²

The details of the text are made somewhat obscure by the allegorical language. However it is clear that basically the passage describes the sect as giving "birth" to the Messiah. (1) It is logical to expect that the writers of the Psalms of Thanksgiving looked for a Messiah. It must be remembered that 1QH, as indeed the rest of the Scrolls, was written in the apocalyptic time of the end. The eschaton was just

150. J.V.Chamberlain, op. cit., p.35; cf. also pp.39-41 for an excellent discussion of the Biblical background for the concepts in this psalm.

151. W.H.Brownlee, op. cit., p.79.

152. J.Baumgarten and M.Mansoor, op. cit., p.190, note 13; cf. Ezek. 32:21.

around the corner. They did not have a long-range eschatology. The sufferings and persecutions through which the righteous were passing were understood to mean only one thing---the imminent visitation of God. Maybe the next day would see the end of all things. But what would the מלכות mean? As I have suggested earlier the main emphasis of the apocalyptic writers is on the fact that the eschaton, the מלכות, would be a time when God would act and would destroy Israel's foes. The end is of God, and the human element is placed in the background. But that does not mean that the writers did not conceive of a place for the righteous Israelite in the final battle. We have seen that here and there, especially in the War Scroll, the remnant is pictured as going out to battle in the last days. So in like manner in regard to the Messiah. Many passages do not mention a Messiah in their description of the final battle. Yet it is idle to say that therefore the authors did not believe there would be a Messiah. The hosts of Israel, or rather the righteous remnant, would have an anointed leader. The last days would see the rise of a Messiah.

(2) It is manifest that this passage speaks of the time just before the end. The immediately following context, 3:12b-18, contains a vivid description of the eschaton, as we saw in chapter III (pp.88ff.). Here in 3:7-12a the author

is depicting the Messianic woes. The wording is reminiscent of the familiar Rabbinic phrase *נִיָּדָה לְפָנֵי הַלְלָהּ*, the sufferings which are to precede the advent of the Messiah.¹⁵³ The woman (the sect) is having increased suffering. Just before she will be delivered of the man-child the pains will reach their peak of intensity, and it will seem as if God has cast her off into Sheol. But the male child will be born safely. His birth will signal the end of the world and the destruction of evil-doers (3:12b-18). Before his birth there will be extreme persecutions. Following his birth the world will end. What other figure fits this description? As J.V. Chamberlain has pointed out, it is a similar situation to that in Micah 4 and 5.¹⁵⁴ The "daughter of Zion", the righteous remnant, has been rejected by Israel as a whole (4:7). She is suffering great persecution, and it is described in terms of child-bearing. "Writhe and groan, O daughter of Zion, like a woman in travail" (4:10). God Himself will cast her off until "she who is in travail has brought forth" (5:2). But out of this suffering "shall come forth for Me one who is to be ruler in Israel" (5:1).

(3) The phrase *יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ*, "wondrous counselor", is best

153. Cf. bSanh. 98b; bShabb. 118a.

154. J.V. Chamberlain, op. cit., pp. 39, 40.

understood as a reference to the Messiah. It is in parallel with גבר, "male child", and cannot be used of God in this context. The passage is speaking of the birth of someone special, a "man-child", a "wondrous counselor in his might". He will counsel; he will fight. He will be, in other words, a warrior-king, a true "Messiah".

(4) A. Dupont-Sommer suggests that in this psalm "se trouve énoncée l'idée que le Messie sauvera les hommes de la perdition".¹⁵⁵ He gets this interpretation by translating 3:10, "(Le Messie) délivrera des flots un chacun grâce à Celle qui est enceinte de lui". The Hebrew is בחולי שאול יגיה מבור וריה פלא יועץ עם גבורתו ויפלט גבר ממעברים בוריו. It must be admitted that Dupont-Sommer's translation is very awkward. Not only is it difficult to understand the passage as saying that the Messiah will save men "grâce à" the sect, the pregnant woman, but the whole context is against this interpretation. From beginning to end there is nothing said about the work of the Messiah, except for the implications in his title "wondrous counselor". The text is speaking of the trials that the pregnant woman will go through before she will be "delivered" of the Messiah. It is the sect's delivery of the Messiah, not the deliverance by the Messiah

155. A. Dupont-Sommer, Numen II, 1955, p.188.

of men, that is in view. Furthermore the same word, מָלִיךְ, occurs in line 9 where it refers to a time of conception--- "she who conceived a מָלִיךְ". Therefore in line 10 is described the birth of the מָלִיךְ. It is undoubtedly the Messiah of whom the author is speaking.

(5) Significant to the elucidation of the Messianic hope of the Qumran sect is the fact that here the Messiah is definitely an earthly, Davidic descendant arising from the midst of the righteous remnant. He is the "wondrous counselor" who will sit "upon the throne of David" (Isa. 9:6). There is, furthermore, no mention of "men-children", that is, two Messiahs. The author clearly set his hopes on a single individual, a scion of David.

One other passage needs to be considered in reference to the expectation of a Messiah.

I thank Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast sustained me
by Thy strength,¹⁵⁶
And Thy Holy Spirit Thou hast sprinkled on me¹⁵⁷
So that I shall not totter.
And Thou hast strengthened me in the face of
wars of wickedness,
And in all their destruction Thou hast not shrunk
from Thy covenant.
And Thou hast placed me as a tower of strength,¹⁵⁸

156. Cf. Psa. 28:8, "The Lord is the strength of His people, the refuge of salvation for His anointed".

157. Cf. 1QH 17:26, "Thou hast sprinkled Thy Holy Spirit upon Thy servant"; also 9:32; 13:18,19; Isa. 44:3.

158. Cf. 1QSb 5:23,24; Prov. 18:10; Psa. 61:3,4.

As a high wall.
 And Thou hast established my structure¹⁵⁹ upon
 a rock,
 And eternal foundations for my foundations,
 And all my walls for a tried wall;¹⁶⁰
 For it cannot be shaken.¹⁶¹
 :10 And Thou, my God, hast given it¹⁶² to those who
 hurry¹⁶³ to a holy council . . .
 And my tongue is as Thy taught ones;¹⁶⁴
 But there is no mouth for a spirit of destruction,
 And no response of tongue for all sons of guilt,
 For lying lips¹⁶⁵ shall be dumb.
 For all my enemies¹⁶⁶ Thou shalt condemn to
 judgment,

159. מִבְּנִית, mem formation noun on the analogy of מִבְּנִית
 (Joshua 22:28); cf. מִבְּנִית (Ezek. 40:2).

160. Cf. Isa. 26:1-4.

161. מִדְּלִיפִים (corrected by a later scribe from מִדְּלִיפִים),
Hithpalp. from דִּלַּף; cf. Cant. R. 3:7 (וּמִדְּלִיפִים).

162. נָתַתָּ; perhaps the waw should be read as a yodh, and
 the word treated as a copyist's error for נָתַתָּ, "Thou hast
 given me", or the waw should be understood as equal to he,
 a phenomenon that occurs from time to time in the Scrolls,
 and read simply "Thou hast given".

163. מְעִיפִים; m.pl.part. from עָפָה. However the word may be
 from עָפָה, "bird, flying thing", a reference to Isa. 31:5,
 "Like birds hovering, so the Lord of hosts will protect Jeru-
 salem". Or perhaps the word is "foliage, branches", the
 plural of עָפָה; cf. supra, p.224.

164. In Isa. 50:4 the Servant Israel says, "The Lord God
 has given me the tongue of those who are taught"; cf. 8:16;
 54:13; LQH 2:38.

165. נִפְתָּח נִפְתָּח, reading as a dittography; cf. Psa.
 31:19.

166. מְרִיבִים, literally, "quarrelers, ones who stir up strife",
 from מָרַב; cf. Isa. 54:15.

To make a distinction by me between righteous
and wicked.¹⁶⁷
For Thou indeed knoweth every fashion of work,
And every response of tongue Thou art acquainted
with,¹⁶⁸
And Thou hast established my heart [as Thy ta]ught
ones,
And by Thy truth (Thou hast) directed my steps to
paths of righteousness,
So that I might walk before Thee in the region of
[lif]e,¹⁶⁹
:15 To ways of glory and peace.
And Thou indeed knoweth the intent of Thy
servant,
My affliction¹⁷⁰ to lift up . . .

167. The phrase is somewhat obscure. It appears that the author is claiming that when God comes to separate the sheep from the goats (Ezek. 34:17; Mal. 3:18; CD 20:20-22) the criterion of judgment will be whether or not a person is associated with the author. If this is the correct interpretation it may indicate that the Teacher of Righteousness is the author of the psalm. 1QpHab 8:1-3 says, "Its interpretation concerns all the doers of the law in the house of Judah whom God will deliver from the house of judgment because of their toil and their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness". In light of the psalm their "faith" would be "faithfulness" or "obedience". However the author may only be one of the sect, probably at least one of the fifteen men (1QS 8:1ff.), and the reference is to such as CD 20:17,18, "the keepers of the covenant of God will then speak each man to his fellow to make his brother righteous", or there may be a relationship to CD 12:19-21 where it speaks of distinguishing between the clean and the unclean, the holy and the profane; cf. CD 13:11-13; 1QS 5:8-23.

168. Cf. Psa. 8:5, "What is man that Thou art mindful of him?" A reference to God's knowledge of all that is said and done.

169. Reading here with M. Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p.410. The phrase would then read לְחַיִּים / לְחַיִּים.

170. יְנִיָּץ = יְנִיָּץ; cf. Psa. 22:25.

And to bring refuge by might.
And shelters of flesh are not for me.

I wait to blossom [with sa]lvation,¹⁷¹
And to raise a branch (which shall) bring refuge
by might.¹⁷²

:20

And Thou hast placed me (as) a father¹⁷³ to
the sons of steadfast-love,¹⁷⁴
And as a foster-father¹⁷⁵ to the men of a sign.¹⁷⁶
They open (their) mouth as a sucking ch[ild],¹⁷⁷
And as the delight of a child¹⁷⁸ in the bosom

171. וְשָׁמַר לְיָמֵי.

172. It seems that the "branch" is the Messiah, who brings salvation, while the "I" is the author speaking on behalf of the sect from which the Messiah springs forth; cf. Isa. 11:1; 4:2; 27:6; also CD 19:11, "(the wicked) shall be given over to the sword when the Messiah of Aaron and Israel shall come"; LQH 6:11ff.

173. For אב is used in the sense of protection, leadership, or guidance, cf. Job 29:16; 31:18; Isa. 22:21; Gen. 45:8 (Joseph as Pharaoh's advisor); II Kgs. 2:12; 6:21; Judges 17:10; 18:19. This is quite similar to the work of the "camp supervisor" in CD 13:7-9 who "instructs the Many in the works of God" and "takes pity upon them like a father upon his sons".

174. In other words, "sons of God's covenant"; cf. Dout. 7:9ff.; Dan 9:4; Micah 7:18-20.

175. אב is translated as "foster-father" because of the parallelism; cf. Isa. 49:23 and Num. 11:12 for similar usage.

176. The concept of the "men of a sign" (אנשי מוֹפֵת) is seen in Zech. 3:8 and Isa. 8:18. In the former passage Joshua and his men are called "men of a sign" (אנשי מוֹפֵת), the ones to whom the "branch" will be revealed. In Isa. 8:18 the faithful of Israel are known as "portents and signs" (לְאִתּוֹת וּלְמוֹפְתִים) in Israel. So here "men of a sign" = the sect.

177. כִּי־יִנְּסֶה.

178. עוֹלִיל, from עוֹלַל with a false plene; cf. LQH 11:27, עוֹלִים; LQIs^a 45:13, שׁוֹחֵד; 16:5, אֹהֵל; 59:6, מִעוֹל. Cf. Lam. 4:4 where עוֹלִיל is in parallel with יֹנֵק, as above.

of his nurses.¹⁷⁹
 Thou hast exalted my horn against all my scorers,
 And the men of my war shall be scattered without
 remnant,¹⁸⁰
 And the lords of my controversy¹⁸¹ as chaff before
 the wind,
 And my dominion against . . .
 Thou hast helped my soul,
 And Thou hast exalted my horn exceedingly.¹⁸²
 And I have shone with a light seven-fold . . .¹⁸³
 for Thy glory.
 :25 For Thou art to me for an eternal lamp,¹⁸⁴
 And Thou hast established my feet on
 (7:6-25)

The author of this psalm, if not the Teacher of Righteousness, was probably a member of that special group of fifteen men (1QS 8:1ff.) whose task it was to oversee the community. The reference to being a "father" to the sect points to this

179. אָמִינוּ; cf. Ruth 4:16; II Sam. 4:4; also 1QH 9:35,36 where God is described in the same terms, "For Thou art a father to all the sons of Thy truth, and Thou dost reveal Thyself unto them as a compassionate one unto a sucking child, and as a nurse in the bosom Thou wilt nourish all Thy works".

180. יִתְפָּאֵר לְאֵין שְׂאֲרִית; perhaps the verb is יִתְפָּאֵר (cf. Psa. 92:10) or יִתְפָּאֵר.

181. רִבִּי, defective for רִיבִי.

182. Cf. Psa. 75:11; 89:18,25; 92:11; 112:9.

183. Cf. Isa. 49:6, "I (God) will give you (the Servant) as a light to the nations, that My salvation may reach to the end of the earth"; also 42:7. The phrase "seven-fold" is perhaps related to Isa. 30:26, "the light of the sun will be seven-fold, as the light of seven days, in the day when the Lord binds up the hurt of His people and heals the wounds inflicted by His blow", because the task for which God anointed Isaiah in 61:1 was to "bind up the brokenhearted".

184. Cf. Isa. 60:1.

conclusion. The Teacher of Righteousness probably wrote some of the psalms, and it may well be that it is he by whom God will "make a distinction between righteous and wicked". J.P.Hyatt writes, "it seems very probable, therefore, that the author of the Hodayot was the Teacher of Righteousness, or a Teacher of Righteousness if---as some scholars believe---there were several persons bearing such a title".¹⁸⁵ He produces various passages in support of this, including the one above where he points to the fact that the author is a "father" to the righteous. However it is difficult to decide, for most of the "I" passages, if not all, may be applied to a group like the fifteen men just as well as to the Teacher of Righteousness. In fact Hyatt's reference to 1QH 5:29, "they overtook me in Egypt so that there was no escape" would seem to discount the authorship of the Teacher. If "Egypt" is to be equated with "in the place of his exile" (1QpHab 6:6), as Hyatt says, and there the Teacher of Righteousness was killed, as 1QpHab seems to indicate, then the Teacher was already dead at the time of the writing of the psalm.

In this psalm we are again left with the difficult problem of interpreting highly symbolic language. It is a question

185. J.P.Hyatt, "The View of Man in the Qumran 'Hodayot'", NTS II, 1956, p.277.

here of whether or not there is a Messianic self-consciousness on the part of the author. Is his thought, as Dupont-Sommer claims, "pénétrée de la notion d'un Messie méconnu et souffrant",¹⁸⁶ or is he merely expressing experiences common to the whole community? It is true that there are various "Servant" references here, such as "my tongue is as Thy taught ones" (cf. Isa. 50:4) and "I have shone with a light sevenfold" (cf. Isa. 49:6), but we must be careful to notice that there is neither an identification with any unique, individual Suffering Servant, nor with the Messiah. First of all, though the Servant references are undoubted, we must keep in mind that all of them refer in the Old Testament to the Servant "Israel". Furthermore, there are, of course, many indications of persecution, but such was the lot of all the righteous, and in this psalm it carries no special "salvation" significance. There is nothing to indicate any vicarious value from suffering on the part of the author, except perhaps in the obscure "to make a distinction by me between righteous and wicked". And even in that phrase, as I have suggested in note 167, the explanation may lie with CD 20:17,18 and the witness role of the members of the sect. The words "by me" may very well be a collective phrase, and be referring to the sect. So everyone who had entered the sect of the new

186. A. Dupont-Sommer, Numen II, 1955, p.187; cf. pp.184-187 where he quotes various passages which speak of great suffering on the part of the author, and which identify him with the eschatological figures of Isa. 11, 52, and 53.

covenant, who had believed the witness of its members, was "righteous". Those who had rejected the call to repentance were "wicked".

In the second place, the identification of the author with the Messiah is nowhere given. There are expressions of ultimate vindication over the enemy, but this has always been the Hebrew's hope. There are phrases such as "my war", "my controversy", and "Thou hast exalted my horn", but they may just as easily apply to the whole remnant as to one figure. In fact the strong implication in lines 18 and 19 is that the author is not the Messiah, but the collective sect. It reads, "I wait to blossom with salvation, and to raise a branch which shall bring refuge by night". The author, as the sect, would "blossom" with salvation, and would grow a "branch" which would bring victory. But the author makes it clear that he himself was not that branch. So the parallel is with 1QH 3:7-12 and the expectation of the "birth" of the Messiah by the Qumran group. The author is a representative "I", and he looks for the imminent coming of the Messiah from his own midst.

Thus we are only given a hint in this psalm as to the sect's Messianic hope. The mention of the "branch", if it is to be interpreted as a reference to the Messiah, shows a Davidic descendant on the basis of Isaiah 11:1. That he was

to rise out of the midst of the righteous remnant, the Qumran sect, is also claimed. Further than this the author does not take us.

The Rule of the Congregation

The two columns of this document are primarily concerned with the various regulations for the operation of the sect "in the last days". Column 1:1-3 gives a general explanation of the purpose of the text.

And this is the order for all the congregation of Israel in the last days in their gathering together to walk according to the commandment of the sons of Zadok, the priests, and the men of their covenant, who have turned aside from walking in the way of the people.

The rest of the scroll is concerned with five main things --- (1) instruction for all new-comers in the commandments of the group (1:4,5), (2) the stages of training of all native, male Israelites for full participation in the life of the sect, including warfare, with a special clause regarding limitations on old men and imbeciles (1:6-25a), (3) rules for the meeting of the group "for judgment or for communal deliberation or for convocation of war", with a note excluding from the assembly all those who are diseased or have certain physical handicaps (1:25b-2:11a), (4) the order of entering and seating at a session of communal deliberation when the Messiah is with them (2:11b-17a), and (5) the ritual to be

followed when the Messiah is present at their meal of bread and wine (2:17b-22). It is these last two that claim our attention here.

[This is the (order for the) ses/sion of the men of the name, [the ones called for] the appointed time, for communal deliberation, [if God should beget] the Messiah (to be) with them.¹⁸⁷ [The priest], the head of all the congregation of Israel, shall enter, and all the fa/thers of the sons of Aaron, the priests, [the called for] the appointed time, the men of the name. And they shall sit be/fore him, a man/ according to his rank. And afterwards the Me/ssiah/ of Israel [shall enter].¹⁸⁸ And the heads of the th/ousands of Israel/ shall sit before him, [a ma/n according to his rank, according to [his stati/on in their camps and their marches. And all the heads of the fa/thers of the congrega/tion, with the wise [men of the holy congregation/ shall sit before them, a man according to his rank. (2:11b-17a)

And [if] they shall assemble [at the table of] the community, [and to drink the wi/ne, and the table of the community is prepared [to eat and the/ wine to drink, [no one shall place/ his hand on the first of the bread and [the wine/ before the priest, [for he is the one who bles/ses the first of the bread and the wi/ne. And he shall place/ his hand on the bread first, and after/wards/ the Messiah of Israel [shall place his hands on the bread. [And afterwards/ all the congregation of the community [shall ble/ss, a ma/n according to/ his rank. And according to this

187. תא לך אם יוליד אם; D.Barthelemy (in Barthelemy and Milik, op. cit., p.117) states that after careful examination under ultra-violet light יוליד is practically certain for the reading here, suggesting (p.118) as the explanation the LXX reading of Ezek. 36:12, where it reads והולדתי for the MT והולכתי in the phrase והולדתי עליהם אדם את-עמי "and I will cause men to walk upon you (or I will beget over you a man), even My people Israel". However in his translation he follows the suggestion of Milik, and reads יוליד for יוליד, positing a scribal error to explain the use of אם.

188. ואחר יבוא משיח ישראל.

commandment they shall do for every arrangement
where they shall assemble unto ten men. (2:17b-22)

There is no doubt from these regulations as to the identity of the one in charge. The high priest has precedence over the Messiah. We saw this same phenomenon exhibited in the War Scroll, as indeed the priestly superiority is found throughout the Qumran texts. The parallel instructions in 1QS, where the Messiah is not present, also show the priest in charge at the communal assembly (6:8ff.) and the meal (6:4-6). It is natural to find the priest in charge at a meal where a blessing is given. However the hierocratic character of the group is emphasized by the priest's obvious place of leadership at secular gatherings. He is even given the title "head of all the congregation of Israel" (2:12).¹⁸⁹

The similarity between the meal described above and the Lord's Supper is striking. However we must disassociate from our minds the thought that the Qumran meal was an eschatological banquet or pre-Christian eucharist. Everything to the Qumran sect of course was "sacred" because it was dedicated to God, but we do not have pictured here any special rite. The meal was sacred, but not sacramental. What the text sets forth is simply the instruction for giving the

189. Cf. Test. Levi, 1Q21:1 (Bartholomy and Milik, op. cit., p.88), . . . מלכות כהנותא דאן מלכות.

blessing at the ordinary meal of the community when the Messiah is with them. The reasons for this interpretation are as follows: (1) The use of terms implies an ordinary repast. (a) In the two passages quoted above the key words for this discussion are *חֲבִירָא*, "communal deliberation", (2:11b) and *חֲבִירָא*, "communal table", (2:17).¹⁹⁰ The text is simply giving directions for two of the important functions of the community life---meetings and meals. It is the same "communal" gathering as is described in 1:25b-2:11a, only this time the Messiah is present. (b) If this were a sacred meal one would expect *חֲלֵל*, "unleavened bread", rather than *חֲבִירָא*, especially if any relation to the Passover meal is seen here. The use in the passage of *חֲבִירָא*, "new wine", instead of *יַיִן*, the general term used when prescribing the ritual wine, also points in this direction.¹⁹¹ (c) *חֲבִירָא* may be translated "food" in the context above, and not merely "bread", if this passage is understood as referring to a common meal. In Ezekiel 44:3 the "bread" which the *חֲבִירָא* partakes at the entrance to the new Temple is really "food", or

190. Cf. Philo, On The Virtuous Being Also Free (quoted from C.D. Yonge, ed., The Works of Philo Judaeus (London: Bohn, 1855), p. 525), "their (the Essenes) food is common, since they all eat in messes . . . and (there is) a common use of the same table".

191. As far as I know *חֲבִירָא*, at least in the Old Testament, is never used with reference to ritual wine.

rather, the sacrificial meal accompanying the peace offering.

(2) The parallel passage in 1QS 6:2-6 indicates daily food. 1QS 6:2,3 says, "they shall eat communally and bless communally and take counsel communally". Following this the text elucidates what this means.

And in every place where there are ten men of the council of the community there shall not cease from among them a man who is a priest. And let each one according to his rank sit before him, and in that order let them be asked for their counsel with regard to every matter. And it shall be when they arrange the table to eat or the wine to drink, the priest shall first stretch out his hand to bless the first of the bread¹⁹² . . . ¹⁹³ and the wine. (6:3-6)

This passage is giving instruction for the daily life in the community, and "bread" (or rather "food") and "wine" were the ingredients of the meal. It is an exact parallel to the passage in 1QSa, minus the presence of the Messiah.

(3) The giving of the blessing at meals is paralleled in the ritual of the Essenes and Pharisees. Josephus says,¹⁹⁴

192. W.H.Brownlee, BASOR SS 10-12, p.23, translates, "to invoke a blessing with the first of the bread". The phrase is להניח בראשית הלחם. But as M.Dolcor shows ("Le sacerdoce, les lieux de culte, les rites et les fêtes dans les documents de Khirbet Qumrân", RHR CXLIV, 1953, p.25, note 1) the preposition beth is here the equivalent of an.

193. Omitting the dittography according to the suggestion of W.H.Brownlee, op. cit., p.23, note 11.

194. Josephus, Wars 2:8:5 (quoting from the translation of H.Thackeray, Selections From Josephus (London: SPCK, 1919), pp.150,151).

When (the Essenes) again assemble in one place and, girding themselves with linen cloths, so equipped bathe their bodies in cold water. After this purification they collect in a private apartment which none of the uninitiated is permitted to enter, and so, pure and by themselves, repair to the Refectory, as to some sacred shrine. Whon they have taken their seats in silence, the baker serves out the loaves to them in order, and the cook sets before each a single vessel of one kind of food. Before meat the priest says a grace, and none may partake until after the prayer. When breakfast is ended, he pronounces a further grace; thus at the beginning and at the close they do homage to God as the bountiful giver of life.

In the same manner in the Sibylline Oracles we read, "Happy among men shall they be upon earth who love to bless the great God before taking food and drink, trusting in the ways of godliness . . ." (4:24-27).¹⁹⁵

(4) There are no other instructions in the Scrolls for the procedure at meals. It is to be expected that such regulations would be found in these texts, especially since both Josephus and Philo mention these things among the Essenes. If 1QSa outlined an eschatological banquet one would look for explanations as to the meaning of the meal. All that is found however is the normal blessing of the food.

195. This procedure is doubtless based on Deut. 8:10, "and you shall eat and be full, and you shall bless the Lord your God for the good land He has given you" (cf. mBer. 6:1-8; 7:1-5; 8:1, 5-8; Letter of Aristaeas 184ff.). The passage in Test. Levi (8:4, 5) refers to an entirely different situation than that described in 1QSa. In Test. Levi the description concerns the priest who is anointed, washed, clothed, and fed with "bread and wine, the most holy things".

(5) M.Black has suggested that the scriptural basis of this meal lies in a Zadokite version of Ezekiel 44:3, which describes the eating of the sacrificial meal by the Davidic prince at the entrance to the new Temple in the new Jerusalem.¹⁹⁶ No doubt there is something to be said for this, especially in view of the importance of the book of Ezekiel for the sect. However there are two dissimilarities which make this identification unlikely. (a) As M.Black points out the meal in Ezekiel is an eschatological one, that is, it takes place in the new Jerusalem after the setting up of the Messianic kingdom. 1QSa is quite clear that its regulations are designed particularly for the pre-kingdom days. 1:1 reads, "And this is the order for all the congregation of Israel in the last days". The Messianic war had yet to be fought, or was in the process of taking place, when these rules would be effective. (b) The meals are quite different. In Ezekiel the prince, being the honored figure, eats alone, and partakes merely of "bread" (though of course this is "food", the sacrificial meal). In 1QSa the Messiah, in subordination to the high priest, eats with the community, and the food is both "bread" and "wine". The only real similarity then between Ezekiel and 1QSa is the fact that the

196. M.Black, "The Messiah(s) of Aaron and Israel", unpublished paper.

Messiah eats. This does not seem to be sufficient evidence to posit a dependence of one upon the other.

The real description of the sect's "sacred meal" is most likely found in some recent Aramaic fragments from Qumran 2, which are conjectured as being descriptions of the new Jerusalem.¹⁹⁷ These texts show the priests in the Temple engaging in a rite involving לֵחֶם וְכֶרֶם , "two piles of bread", and כֶּרֶם לֵחֶם , "a ram of the flock".¹⁹⁸ These are undoubtedly references to the "bread of the Presence" and the sacrificial meal, as Baillet points out. Here also, as in Ezekiel, there is no wine. Thus the sect's "sacred meal" was to be in the future, in the Temple, and the details of a "eucharist" or "eschatological banquet" are not to be found in 1QSa.¹⁹⁹

The two important figures at both the communal assembly and the meal are the high priest and the Messiah. Let us notice some facts about this מָשִׁיחַ . (a) It is clear that he is a secular, militant leader, a "Messiah" in the traditional Jewish sense. However as we have noticed the rules for

197. M. Baillet, "Fragments araméens de Qumrân 2. Description de la Jérusalem Nouvelle", RB LXII, 1955, pp. 222-245.

198. Equivalent to Hebrew לֶחֶם וְכֶרֶם ; cf. Gen. 31:38.

199. P. M. Cross, "Qumran Cave I", JBL LXXV, 1956, p. 125, claims that the meal of 1QSa is that by which the community anticipated liturgically the banquet of the kingdom. However there is no evidence for that in the text.

precedence are plainly designed to put him in subordination to the high priest. At the assembly for communal deliberation the high priest enters first, accompanied by his priests, and then the משיח enters with the "heads of the thousands of Israel". There are then two groups at this special gathering ---priests and laymen. One wonders what was to take place, for it was no ordinary affair. Notice that only the leaders of the group were present, and not all the people, as in 1QS 6:8ff. Undoubtedly it was concerned with the coming Messianic war, and possibly here the high priest first outlined the battle-plans which he later gave to the whole group (1QM 15). It would be a council of war, with the Messiah as the field general, and the high priest as chief of staff.

(b) The titles of the warrior Messiah---משיח המלח and משיח המלח---are unique to 1QSa among the Qumran Scrolls. Elsewhere it is either משיח אהרן (CD) or משיח אהרן (1QS). In the Old Testament the king is always known as משיח יהוה or משיח אלהי יעקב, but these terms never are used in reference to the Messianic figure. These expressions in 1QSa are quite significant therefore, because they show an early technical use of משיח. There can be no doubt here; it is "the" Messiah, the anointed deliverer of Israel, about whom the text speaks. However by calling this a "technical use" of the word, I do not mean to imply the Christian understanding. It is "technical" merely in the sense that here

we find one of the first direct applications of מָשִׁיחַ to the eschatological warrior, the one who would slay the enemies of Israel and set up the throne of David. While in the Old Testament מָשִׁיחַ could be used of priests, kings, prophets, and others anointed by God for special service, here in the Qumran sect מָשִׁיחַ or מְשִׁיחָא מָשִׁיחַ meant neither priest nor king, but only the Messianic כְּשִׁי. However though he would be the כְּשִׁי of battle and the sole "Messiah", doubtless he was not to be the only "anointed one". There would be other "princes", the line of Davidic rulers, just as Ezekiel 45:9 describes. It is this distinction between the Christian and the Qumran Messiah that must be grasped. The Christian Messiah was unique; there would be none to follow, no line of rulers. The Qumran Messiah was unique only in the sense that he would be the special warrior, the one deliverer. But that did not mean that there would be no others to follow, no one else to rule the coming kingdom. It is clear that in 1QSa מָשִׁיחַ means "the warrior prince", but when he had come he would merely be the first of the line of מְשִׁיחָא. The confirmation of this may be found in the plural מְשִׁיחָא of 1QS 9:11, however let us reserve discussion of this until later in this chapter.

(3) The Messiah was definitely an earthly figure, a son of David. The words in 2:10,11 are "if God should beget the

Messiah". M.Black's suggestion at this point is valuable.²⁰⁰ He says that this verse may be a Messianic interpretation of Psalm 2:7, "Thou art My son; this day have I begotten thee". The Qumran sect then is claiming that its Messiah is a supernaturally endowed, Davidic descendant. However it is important to remember that the regulations given in 1QSa place him in subordination to the high priest. If he were a supernatural figure, as the Sibylline Oracles' "man from the plains of heaven" or the "Son of Man" in I Enoch, it is difficult to imagine such a rule being given.

The importance of the high priest throughout the Rule has led to the theory of two Messiahs---a priest and a layman. K.G.Kuhn²⁰¹ and Barthélemy-Milik²⁰² have discussed this view at some length. The high priest they would identify as the "Messiah of Aaron" alongside of the "Messiah of Israel". Apart from the evidence of the text they draw attention to the parallels of the Moses-Aaron, Zerubbabel-Joshua, and Bar Kokhba-Eleazar partnerships, to the priestly and lay Messiahs of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and to

200. M.Black, loc. cit.

201. K.G.Kuhn, "Die beiden Messias Aaron und Israels", NTS I, 1955, pp.168ff.

202. D.Barthélemy and J.T.Milik, op. cit., pp.110, 117, 118,121,122; also J.T.Milik, "Une lettre de Simeon bar Kokheba", RB LX, 1953, p.291; "Manuale Disciplinae", VD XXIX, 1951, p.152.

the plural משיח אשר על ישראל in 1QS 9:11.

The many lacunae in the text of 1QSa make it somewhat cryptic and tantalizing. Those who claim two Messiahs cannot point to any direct reference to both the "Messiah of Aaron" and the "Messiah of Israel". All that is found are משיח (2:12), משיח ישראל (2:14,20), and הכוהן (2:12). Do these refer to two separate persons, the priestly Messiah and the lay Messiah? Kuhn and Barthélemy-Milik think so, but let us examine the text. Lines 11 and 12 of column 2 contain some important lacunae, and they have been restored as follows:

11. אם יוליד

12. המשיח אתם יבוא לכהוהן²⁰³ לראש כול עדת ישראל

"au cas où Dieu mènerait le Messie avec eux; Que le prêtre ait rang de chef sur toute la congrégation d'Israël" (Barthélemy).

12. לכהוהן המשיח אתם יבוא לכהוהן לראש כול עדת ישראל

"(Und der Priester), der gesalbte, soll mit ihnen kommen, (denn er ist) das Haupt der ganzen Gemeinde Israels" (Kuhn).

Notice these facts concerning the Rule text: (1.) If Kuhn's reconstruction is correct, though it is difficult to read אשר in this manner, another phrase is found---הכוהן המשיח. However this reconstruction probably can be discounted, for it appears that Prof. Kuhn did not have full access to the

203. F.M.Cross, JBL LXXV, 1956, p.124, reads לכהוהן לראש.

original text. The reading of 7'77' DK at the end of line 11 is almost certain, as we have noticed (p.366, note 187), and this would render his reconstruction quite doubtful.

(2) Barthélemy reads "au cas où Dieu mènerait le Messie".

It is a singular Messiah, not plural. One would expect מִשְׁחָאֵם if the thesis of two Messiahs in this text were true. The text obviously considers only one person as the "Messiah".

(3) The priest is known only as "the head of all the congregation of Israel" or simply "the priest". Never is he called a "Messiah". No doubt the high priest could be termed an "anointed one", but the fact is that neither in this text nor in any of the Scrolls is he so designated.²⁰⁴ This is very curious. If Kuhn and Barthélemy-Milik are right, why is there no mention of an "anointed of Aaron" in the text? The term "Messiah of Israel" does occur; one would expect to find the other as well. This is an ecclesiastically-run group, and if the high priest is the "Messiah of Aaron", it is strange that he is given only the title of "priest",

204. Cf. 1QM 9:8 where it refers to the priest's "oil of anointing". J.W.Bailey, "The Usage in the Post-Restoration Period of Terms Descriptive of the Priest and High Priest", JBL LXX, 1951, pp.217-225, shows that the terms used of the high priest during the early post-restoration period and continuing into the Maccabean period were הכהן המשיח, כהן, הכהן הגדול, and הכהן הראש. He claims that no one term had eliminated any of the others. Notice also the terms for the high priest in 1QM---כהן הראש (2:1; 16:13; 18:5; 19:11), הכהן (7:12), and הכהן הגדול (15:6).

especially since he is the greater of the two. The "Messiah of Israel" is clearly the secular leader, the warrior Messiah, but the fact that he takes second place to the high priest does not therefore demand that the high priest is a "Messiah" as well.

The appeal to the parallels of Moses, Zerubbabel, and Bar Kokhba is not valid. If anything these examples support the superiority of the secular figure. Bar Kokhba alone was considered the Messiah, even to being called מָלִיכָא בְרִיתָא on the coins of that period. In fact J. Jeremias points out that the two olive trees of Zechariah 4:14 were interpreted by the Rabbis of Moses and Aaron, Zerubbabel and Joshua, and the Messiah and the high priest.²⁰⁵ This is clearly the situation in 1QSa, and the question of the superiority of one over the other does not affect the fact that there was only one Messiah. I have mentioned earlier that we must see a technical use of מָלִיכָא in 1QSa, the single Messianic מָלִיכָא.

The attempt to gain support for the two Messiah view from the Testaments is also weak. I have discussed earlier

205. J. Jeremias, "מלכות", TwENT, IV, p. 868; cf. Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, III, p. 696; IV, pp. 457; 460-465. M. Black, loc. cit., points out that the LXX supports the reading Zerubbabel-Joshua in Zech. 6:9ff., rather than the MT Joshua-Zerubbabel. There may have been a conflict over precedence during this time, but in any case this does not point to two "Messiahs".

at some length the evidence of the Testaments, and concluded that at one place a Messiah ben Judah is proclaimed, and at another a Messiah ben Levi. One passage speaks of the son of Levi as the Messianic warrior, and another of Judah's descendant as the ruler. However the book is not a unity, and aside from the problem of Christian influence, there is no real evidence in the Testaments that these two concepts were ever held simultaneously by the same group.

J.T. Milik sees two Messiahs, a lay and a priestly figure, in LQM and LQsb.²⁰⁶ In LQsb he reads of a "Nasi of all the congregation" (Messiah of Israel) and a "chief-priest" (Messiah of Aaron). In LQM he finds משיח הכהן (Messiah of Aaron) and the משיח (Messiah of Israel). The only disagreement I have with Milik is in his use of the term "Messiah". It is clear that there are two important figures in these documents---the priest and the prince. But it is equally certain that only the prince is the Messiah, for he is the military leader. The high priest is in charge, as we have seen from LQM and LQSa, but he must not be called a Messiah. It is in this manner that we must evaluate the evidence of LQSa. Kuhn and Barthélemy-Milik are correct in pointing out

206. J.T. Milik, RB LX, 1953, p.291; he also finds two Messiahs in CD, but only after claiming an "orthodox change" by a later copyist; cf. K.G. Kuhn, op. cit., pp.173,174.

the importance of the Davidic figure and of the son of Levi. But their designation of the priest as the "Messiah of Aaron" is incorrect, not only from the lack of mention of such a figure in the Scrolls, but also from the basic meaning of the term "Messiah". "Messiah" means "warrior-king", and the priest in 1QSa never makes a claim to that position.

The Benedictions

The Messianic hope of this scroll is also centered in one Messiah, a Davidic descendant. The text of 1QSB is quite fragmentary, and the reconstruction is often rather difficult. J.T. Milik has divided the five columns into (1) the benediction of the faithful (1:1-20), (b) the benediction of the high priest (1:21-3:21), (c) the benediction of the priests (3:22-5:19), and (d) the benediction of the prince of the congregation (5:20-29).²⁰⁷ 1QSB in reality does not ever mention a high priest. The benediction suggested for the high priest is rather doubtful, for the identity of the individual who is blessed is never given. It appears to me more likely that this benediction is merely a continuation of that in 1:1-20. 1QSB 1:1,2 reads, "Words of blessing. To the wise man for the blessing of those who fe^rar God, who do⁷ His good favor, who keep His commandments, and hold

207. Cf. Barthélemy and Milik, op. cit., pp.118-129.

to His holy covenant, and walk in perfection"

Following this in columns 2-3 the blessing still appears to be on the faithful as a whole, rather than on the high priest, for the text contains such phrases as "He will favor you with the Holy Spirit and steadfast-love" (2:24), "He will lift up His face upon all your congregation" (3:2,3), and "He will fight at the head of your thousands" (3:7).

Though there is doubt as to the recipient of the previous blessing, the identity of the K'W1 in column 5 is clear.

To the wise man. For the blessing of the prince of the congregation . . . and the covenant of the community He will renew for him, in order to establish the kingdom of His people forever . . . to judge with equity the humble of the land, and to walk before Him completely in all the ways of . . . May the Lord lift you up to an everlasting height, and as a strong tower on a high wall,²⁰⁸ and you shall strike the peoples with the power of your mouth, and with you sceptre you shall devastate the land, and with the breath of your lips you shall put to death the wicked, with the spirit of counsel and eternal might, a spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord. And righteousness shall be the waist-cloth of your loins, and faithfulness the girdle of your waist, and He will make your horn iron and your hooves bronze.²⁰⁹ You shall gore as a young bull . . . and you shall trample the peoples as the mud of the streets,²¹⁰ for God has established you for a sceptre of rulers; before you they shall come and bow down, and all the peoples will serve you,²¹¹ and by His holy name He will

208. Cf. Psa. 61:4; Prov. 18:10; LQN 7:8.

209. Cf. Micah 4:13.

210. Cf. Psa. 18:43; Micah 7:10; Zech. 10:5.

211. Cf. Isa. 60:10-14.

strengthen you.²¹² And you shall be as a lion . . .
 prey. And there will be no one to restore. And
 your swift (steeds) shall spread out upon the face
 of the earth²¹³ . . . 7. (5:20-29)

The Messianic identification with David is striking. (1)
 The prophecy regarding the "shoot from the stem of Jesse" in
Isaiah 11 is applied to him. (a) "To judge with equity the
 humble of the land" (5:22; Isa. 11:4); (b) "You shall strike
 the peoples with the power of your mouth . . . and with the
 breath of your lips you shall put to death the wicked"
 (5:24,25; Isa. 11:4); (c) "With the spirit of counsel and
 eternal might, a spirit of knowledge and the fear of the
 Lord" (5:25; Isa. 11:2); (d) "Righteousness shall be the
 waist-cloth of your loins, and faithfulness the girdle of
 your waist" (5:25,26; Isa. 11:5). (2) Jacob's prophecy in
Genesis 49:8-12 is seen not only in "God has established
 you for a sceptre of rulers" (5:27,28),²¹⁴ but also in "and
 you shall be as a lion" (5:29), a clear allusion to the lion
 of the tribe of Judah. (3) The application of this benediction
 to the "prince of the congregation" is plainly patterned after
 the Davidic נָשִׂי of Ezekiel, "And I, the Lord, will be their

212. J.T. Milik (in Barthélemy and Milik, op. cit., p. 129)
 suggests that this be translated "qu'il fasse de toi le Gib-
 bor".

213. Cf. Isa. 30:16.

214. Perhaps also Balaam's prophecy in Num. 24:17 is
 applied to this "prince".

God, and My servant David shall be prince among them. I, the Lord, have spoken" (34:24; cf. CD 5:1; 7:20; 1QM 5:1).

So the authors of the Benedictions set their hopes on the restoration of the Davidic throne and the Levitical priesthood (3:26). It is interesting to notice that though this scroll pictures the traditional Messiah who destroys the enemy, yet as in the Old Testament the emphasis is on the fact that in the final analysis it is God who brings victory. So the text reads that the Lord will "establish the kingdom of His people forever", and will raise up the Messiah to be "a sceptre of rulers". Indeed, as we have seen in earlier chapters, this Old Testament viewpoint is reflected throughout the scroll's eschatological hope.

The Zadokite Fragments

This scroll does not describe the details of the Messiah's role in the kingdom. The interest of the text lies in the eschaton battle, and there the Messiah is depicted as the man with the sword destroying Israel's enemies.²¹⁵ There are two main problems to be discussed here---whether or not CD looks for (1) two Messiahs, and/or (2) the Teacher of Righteousness redivivus.

215. The Messiah is not always in view in the description of the end days. CD 7:9 and 20:14-34 see the eschaton merely as the time "when God shall visit the earth".

(1) Two Messiahs

The problem stems from the fact that four times in CD the future leader is known as the "Messiah of Aaron and Israel". Many scholars have seen in this phrase the teaching that there was to be a Messiah from Aaron and a Messiah from Israel. Let us examine the passages.

(The righteous) shall escape in the time of visitation, but the rest shall be given over to the sword, when the Messiah of Aaron and Israel shall come (לְיָשָׁרִים יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה וְלַרְשָׁעִים יִשְׁלַח חֶרֶב). (19:10,11)

The Messiah here has the traditional role of God's agent in judgment on the wicked. At this point there is an interesting parallel in manuscript A, which Rabin and Charles place just prior to the "Messiah" passage. It reads,

The star is the Searcher of the Law who came to Damascus, as it is written, 'A star shall step forth out of Jacob and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel'. The sceptre is the prince of all the congregation, and when he arises he 'shall smite all the sons of Seth'. (7:18-20).

Taking the poem of Balaam in Numbers 24:17 the author makes it into an eschatological statement about the history of the sect. The "star", as we saw in chapter II (pp.68,69), is the Teacher of Righteousness, the "Searcher of the Law". The "sceptre" is quite clearly the militant Messiah, the one who would destroy "the sons of Seth". He is also known as the "prince of all the congregation", the same title given to the Davidic Messiah in 1QSb 5. While in Numbers 24 the "star"

and "sceptre" are one person, here the author separates them into two.

It is to be noted that those who are wont to see two Messiahs in the Qumran Scrolls are faced here with the definite indication of a single person. Even if the singular מ'שח is termed a Karaite change the problem still remains.²¹⁶ In both of the passages quoted above there is a Messianic figure with a sword. In 7:18-20 he is called a "sceptre", and is obviously one person. In 19:10,11 he is called the "Messiah of Aaron and Israel"; this must also be taken as a reference to one person. The emphasis is on the lay figure. If the term "Messiah of Aaron and Israel" meant "Messiah of Aaron and (Messiah of) Israel", the author would have only mentioned here the "Messiah of Israel", for it would be he who would wield the sword. It is significant that nowhere in the Scrolls are the two so-called Messiahs differentiated. It is true that in 1QSa we find the "Messiah of Israel", and this is properly so, for he was to be a lay leader, a Davidic descendant. The phrase "Aaron and Israel" had not yet developed, for 1QSa appears to be one of the earliest of the Qumran documents, perhaps of Hasidian origin, as Barthélemy suggests.²¹⁷ But the "Messiah of

216. Cf. supra, p.379, note 206.

217. Cf. supra, p.13.

"Aaron" never occurs; the high priest is not even once called הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל in the Qumran texts.

Generally the attempt to see two Messiahs rests on a misunderstanding of "Aaron and Israel". We have seen that this phrase is a designation of the sect as a whole, not a division into two elements as such. The sect was not looking for a Messiah from each division. It is always the Messiah of "Aaron and Israel", or in other words, the Messiah of the sect. There could only be one "Messiah" in the last days. If "Israel" did signify a Davidic Messiah from Judah, and "Aaron" a Levitical Messiah, one would expect that the hope would be expressed as from "Aaron (Levi) and Judah".

All the men that have entered the new covenant in the land of Damascus, and have acted faithlessly again, and have forsaken the well of the living water shall not be reckoned with the gathering of the people, and in their writing they shall not be written, from the day when there was gathered in the unique teacher until a Messiah shall arise from Aaron and from Israel. (19:33-20:1)

The Hebrew here is מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל וּמִיִּצְהָרָאן, a Messiah "from" Aaron and "from" Israel, rather than the ordinary construct. In our discussion of the meaning of the phrase "Aaron and Israel" we saw that S. Schechter uses the double min in this passage as proof of two Messiahs.²¹⁸ However, as I pointed out, the similar usage of min in CD 1:7, where

²¹⁸. Cf. supra, pp. 307, 308.

the subject is clearly singular, the "root", discredits this view. The author is not emphasizing the fact of two Messiahs, but rather that the group from which the Messiah will emerge is composed of the lay and priestly elements in Israel.

There is another fact to be remembered in this regard. The sect was recreating the days of the wilderness wandering. They had their second Moses, but like the first Moses he was not to lead them into the promised land. In the olden days Joshua was at the head of their army. Can we not say that such an arrangement was also the expectation of the Qumran sect? Did they not also look for a single anointed leader who would initiate the attack and lead them into the Messianic kingdom? As they were to have kings in the promised land, so they would in the Messianic kingdom. The kingdom in a sense was to be a repetition of the promised land of old. Deuteronomy 17:14-20 speaks of setting a king over the people after they had entered the promised land, a king who would be "one from among your brethren" (cf. also Jer. 30:21). This is strikingly similar to the hope of the Qumran sect.

The other two passages which speak of the "Messiah of Aaron and Israel" do not give us any added help. CD 12:23-13:1 reads, "They that walk in these (laws) during the epoch of wickedness until there shall arise the Messiah of Aaron

and Israel (shall be) groups of ten men as a minimum". The context is giving directions for the organization of the sect, and the advent of the Messiah is used as the terminus ad quem for the authority of those rules. CD 14:18,19 parallels this with, "this is the exact statement of the rulings by which [God has commanded them to walk until there shall arise a prophet and the Messia]h of Aaron and Israel".

N.Wieder has attempted to show both a Davidic and an Aaronic Messiah in the Zadokite Fragments on the basis of the Karaitic literature of the 10th century A.D.²¹⁹ Since CD was found in Cairo among Karaite works, we know that it formed part of their literature. The burden of Wieder's article is to prove that the Karaites believed in two Messiahs, and therefore since a "two Messiah" view was held by users of the Zadokite Fragments, we are given solid evidence for positing a similar belief among the Qumran sect. He begins his discussion by a lengthy attempt to show that the Messianic high priest was identified with Elijah by the Karaites. This he proves conclusively. However when he takes the next step, and seeks to term the high priest-Elijah a "Messiah" alongside of the Davidic Messiah, his argument no longer sounds convincing. There are three reasons why

219. N.Wieder, "The Doctrine of Two Messiahs among the Karaites", JJS VI, 1955, pp.14-25.

his thesis cannot be maintained.

(a) Wieder produces various Karaite passages which he claims call Elijah a "Messiah", but in none of them is this true. I need only quote one of them, perhaps Wieder's strongest "proof-text", for the terminology in question is the same in each case. David ben Abraham al-Fasi, a 10th century Karaite lexicographer, wrote, שְׁנֵי מָשִׁיחִים הָיוּ . . . אליהו זכור לטוב אלדי הוּא מָשִׁיחַ כְּהוֹנֵן וּמָשִׁיחַ בֶּן דָּוִד אֶלְמֹחֶסֶר, "two anointed ones: they are Elijah, let him be remembered for good, who is a mashiah of priesthood, and Messiah ben David, the expected one". The problem hinges on the correct interpretation of מָשִׁיחַ כְּהוֹנֵן.²²⁰ Wieder translates it as "the priestly Messiah",²²¹ but this is incorrect. In the first place it is not "the priestly Messiah", for the phrase is clearly indefinite. Secondly, it is not "the priestly Messiah", but rather "a mashiah of priesthood" or "a priestly mashiah". This is verified by the Babylonian Talmud. mHor. 3:4 says, וְאִיזוֹר הַמָּשִׁיחַ הַמִּשְׁחָה בְּשֵׁן הַמָּשִׁיחַ לֹא הַמָּוֶרֶד בְּגָדָיו, "and who is 'ha-mashiah' (a reference to הַמָּוֶרֶד in Lev. 4:3)? He who has been anointed with the anointing oil, (and) not he who has more garments". The Gemara to this passage

220. I have translated מָשִׁיחַ בֶּן דָּוִד as "Messiah ben David", and not "mashiah ben David", for it is undoubtedly a title, just as it is in the Talmud; cf. supra, p.37, note 45.

221. N.Wieder, op. cit., p.15.

says (bHor. 12a), ת"ל כהן אי כהן יכול מרובה בגדים ת"ל משיח אי משיח יכול משרח המשיח בשמן המשיחה וכו' ת"ר משיח יכול מלך, (bHor. 12a), says ת"ל כהן אי כהן יכול מרובה בגדים ת"ל משיח אי משיח יכול משרח המשיח בשמן המשיחה וכו' ת"ר משיח יכול מלך, "He who has been anointed with the anointing oil, etc.' Our Rabbis taught, 'mashiah' might imply a king, so it was stated 'priest'. If (only) 'priest' (had been stated) one might have applied it to (the priest) who has more garments, so it was stated 'mashiah'. If (only) 'mashiah' (had been stated) one might have applied it to the priest anointed for war, so it was stated 'and the anointed priest', above whom there is no other (priest)". Thus we see in this passage from the Talmud a parallel use of משיח and כהן, and the reason for the phrase משיח כהן. David al-Fasi is emphasizing not only the fact that Elijah will be a high priest (rather than a king), but also that he will be a legitimately anointed high priest. He is not terming Elijah "the priestly Messiah".

Although it might be possible to read "a priestly Messiah", the fact that such is not the case is made clear in the immediately following context of David al-Fasi. It reads, בריתי היתה אתך החיים והשלום יעני אליהו ופי אלמשיח חיים שאל בריתי היתה אתך בנותן לו ארך ימים עולם ועד, "My covenant was with him of life and peace' (Mal. 2:5), that is, Elijah, and with regard to Messiah (it is said), 'He asked life of Thee, Thou gavest it to him, even length of days forever and ever' (Psa. 21:5)".

This passage puts the matter beyond doubt for it speaks of "Elijah" and "Messiah", and confirms the previous translation of one as "mashiah", and the other as "Messiah". Not two "Messiahs", but only one! Elijah may well have been thought of as a priest, indeed an "anointed priest", a "mashiah of priesthood", but not a "Messiah".

(b) We are left in this whole discussion with the identification of the "prophet" of 1QS 9:11, for the evidence seems to indicate that this figure is to be equated with Elijah.²²² Wieder says he is the Teacher of Righteousness=second Moses, while the "Messiah of Aaron" is Elijah the high priest. He claims that 1QS still expects the prophet, because it was written before CD and the arrival of the Teacher. But as I have shown,²²³ 1QS was written after CD and the death of the Teacher of Righteousness.

(c) Wieder turns to the evidence of 1QSa as supporting his theory, but it is strange that the text never calls the priest either a "Messiah" (or "anointed" for that matter) or "Elijah". Surely an Elijah-Messiah-high priest combination would have been made clear if such were the case.

E.L.Ginzberg has posited a somewhat similar two Messiah theory from CD on the basis of the Rabbinic doctrine of a

222. Cf. supra, pp.56-64.

223. Cf. supra, pp.56-58; also appendix D, pp.79-81.

priestly and a Davidic redeemer.²²⁴ He claimed that the Messianic statement in CD should be read, "the Messiah of Aaron and (the Messiah) of Israel". The former figure he identified with Elijah-Phineas, and the latter with the Davidic descendant. What he did in effect was to combine three Jewish traditions in order to get this view. The first identifies the high priest Phineas with Elijah. "The highest reward to Phineas was that God granted him everlasting priesthood. For Phineas is none other than the prophet Elijah . . . he was therefore destined to be the forerunner of the Messiah, to establish before his coming peace on earth".²²⁵ The second belief holds that Elijah is to be the Messiah.²²⁶ We know elsewhere of the military prowess of Phineas, for in one place he is described as the "priest anointed for war",²²⁷ and in another it is said of him, "with thy arm thou didst labor to slay the sinners".²²⁸ The third

224. H.L.Ginzberg, Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte, I, pp.317-363.

225. H.L.Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, III, p.389; cf. Targ.Jon.Ex. 6:18, "this is Elijah, the great priest, who will lead the exiles of Israel in the end of days".

226. Cf. H.L.Ginzberg, Sekte, pp.346ff. Elijah is given as one of the names of the Messiah in Midr.Mishle 19 (Buber, p.87).

227. Cf. Num. 31:6; Cant.R. 3:6; H.L.Ginzberg, Legends, III, p.187.

228. H.L.Ginzberg, Legends, III, p.389.

legend states that Elijah will anoint the Messiah.²²⁹ So from these Ginzberg got the three concepts of Elijah the forerunner (=Phineas) as a high priest, as the Messiah, and as the one who would anoint the traditional Davidic Messiah. He saw in the "Messiah of Aaron" the combination of prophet and priest (Elijah=Phineas) who would destroy the enemies of the Davidic Messiah (the "Messiah of Israel") and anoint him as king over Israel.

This of course is similar to the Messiah ben Joseph-Messiah ben David concept.²³⁰ In Jewish tradition, as we have seen, the Messiah has the double function of a great warrior who brings about the defeat of the enemies of Israel and restores her to the land, and of a moral and spiritual regenerator and ruler of the world. This dual role is separated and apportioned to two distinct individuals in the Joseph-David Messiah belief. The former wages the war against Gog and Magog, and is killed while defending Jerusalem. The Messiah ben David then arrives to assume the kingdom. This division of functions would be the case in the Phineas-Elijah-David Messiah doctrine propounded by Ginzberg. The point I

229. Cf. Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, 49:1; but Ginzberg, Legends, V, p.349, points out that the older Rabbinic writings know nothing of this belief, holding rather that the Messiah would not be anointed at all. Cf. the tradition in Midr.Tanh. 2:91-92 that the Messiah would anoint the high priest

230. Cf. supra, pp.34,291.

am seeking to bring out in this discussion is that the title "Messiah" is applied only to the individual or individuals who would fulfil certain expectations. These conditions are met in Ginzberg's view---a warring priest and a reigning Davidic king. But basic to his conception is the union of prophet and priest in the "Messiah of Aaron". As I. Silberman has pointed out, this position cannot be maintained in light of the separation of the prophet from the ²⁷WD in 1QS 9:11.²³¹

(2) The Teacher of Righteousness redivivus

This doctrine has been propounded especially on the basis of CD 6:8-11.

The nobles of the people are they that have come to dig the well with the ordinances which the Lawgiver ordained to walk in them during the whole epoch of wickedness, and without them they shall not attain to the arising of him who will teach righteousness in the end of days (עַד עֵמֶל יִרְרָה וְזָדָן בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים).

S. Schechter was the first to identify the Teacher of Righteousness with the Messiah of Aaron and Israel on the basis of this passage. He claimed that the period known as the "end of wickedness"²³² was the time intervening between the first appearance of the Teacher (CD 1:11), who was killed,

231. I. H. Silberman, "The Two 'Messiahs' of the Manual of Discipline", VT V, 1955, p. 78.

232. Better, "epoch of wickedness"; as I. Lévi observed (REJ LXI, 1911, p. 172, note 7), "מָוֶן יָפֶּה ne signifie pas 'la fin de la colère', mais la 'période', la 'durée' de la colère". For the term מָוֶן יָפֶּה cf. CD 1:5.

and the second appearance of the Teacher, when he was to arise as the Messiah in the "end of days" (CD 6:11).²³³

I have already discussed this passage in chapter II (pp.60ff.), and concluded that it refers to the expectation of the arising of Elijah in the last days. It is granted that the name of the Teacher and of this future figure is similar,²³⁴ but agreement in names is not conclusive of agreement in personalities. Both Elijah and the Teacher (the second Moses) were instructors in righteousness. And even if the passage referred to the Messiah as a "teacher of righteousness", there is no reason to conclude a redivivus teaching. The Teacher, as the forerunner of the Messiah, would undoubtedly share his motives and purposes. John the Baptist baptized with water; Jesus offered the higher baptism of the Spirit. John called for repentance; Jesus said, "I am come not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance" (Luke 5:32).

The redivivus theory has had strong support in recent days from A. Dupont-Sommer, who sees further evidence for the view from the Testament of Levi and the Habakkuk Commentary.²³⁵

233. S. Schechter, Fragments of a Zadokite Work, p. xxxviii.

234. Although in 6:11 it is יורה הזקן as against the normal מורה הזקן (20:32); however cf. 20:14, יורה היחיד.

235. A. Dupont-Sommer, The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes, pp. 39ff.; The Dead Sea Scrolls, pp. 33ff.

He adds to the view of Schochter by claiming that with the discovery of 1QpHab certain "unintelligible" passages in the Testament of Levi can be shown to teach the resurrection of the Teacher of Righteousness as the Messiah. First of all he turns to chapters 17 and 18 of the Testament. Chapter 17 speaks of the gradual degradation of a line of seven priests. Starting with a righteous priest, the line degraded until finally the last of the seven committed an abominable crime, which was visited by divine punishment. The text says, "In the seventh shall be such pollution as I cannot express before men . . . therefore they shall be taken captive" (17:8,9). In chapter 18 the fallen priesthood has disappeared, and in its place a "new priest" has arrived, the Messiah. The 17th chapter is interpreted by Dupont-Sommer as referring to the Hasmonean dynasty beginning with John Hyrcanus and ending with Aristobulus II, who committed this heinous sacrilege. Dupont-Sommer recognizes in this act the murder of the Teacher of Righteousness. In support of this he quotes three further passages from the Testament of Levi (10:2-4; 14:1-15:4; 16:1-5) which speak of the persecution and execution by priests of a righteous man described as the "savior of the world" (10:2; 14:2), and the "man who reneweth the Law in the power of the Most High" (16:3).

Turning to chapter 18 Dupont-Sommer sees the "Law-renewer"

of chapter 17 resurrected as the Messiah, the "new priest" who reigns over the regenerated Messianic age. This person he claims is the Teacher of Righteousness. He finds a parallel in the fact that the Teacher was also a priest (1QpHab 8:2), and that he was a prophet (1QpHab 7:4,5) as this "new priest" was expected to be ("a prophet of the Most High"; Test. Levi 18:2). All these things show, says Dupont-Sommer, that the Teacher of Righteousness was expected to rise in the last days as a prophet and Messiah.²³⁶

The two distinct Messiahs taught in other parts of the Testament of Levi (the Messiah ben Levi at one time (18:2,3), and the Messiah ben Judah at another (2:11)) are explained as belonging to an old strata of doctrine which combined into one Messiah, the priestly descendant, at the time of the Teacher of Righteousness.

This view has certain basic weaknesses. The matter of Christian interpolations is not given enough consideration. The phrase "savior of the world" is very doubtful. Dupont-Sommer says, "I think the new information we now possess about the Sect of the Covenant permits us to reduce considerably the importance of Christian interpolations".²³⁷ He

236. Ch. Rabin, The Zadokite Documents, p.37, note 1, does not identify the Messiah with the Teacher, yet states (on the basis of CD 6:11) that the Teacher would rise again in the last days, as the Rabbis thought of Elijah.

237. A. Dupont-Sommer, The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes, p.39.

therefore translates as authentic the received text. However all are not of the same viewpoint. M.DeJonge shows that Test. Levi 10:2 and 14:2 have strong indications of being Christian additions.²³⁸ This is especially true in the case of 10:2 where the total phrase is "the savior of the world, Christ". It is almost certain that this must be taken as a Christian interpolation, for as P.Winter points out, "In the relation of victory over the national enemy a Jewish writer might occasionally have attributed the title "savior of Israel" to a hero or liberator, but in the sphere of religious thinking no such or even more exalted title would have been bestowed by Jews upon a man".²³⁹

It is possible that the phrase in 16:3, "the man who reneweth the Law" could refer to the Teacher of Righteousness. But there is nothing at all to link him with the "new priest" of chapter 18, except for the fact that each one is both a priest and a prophet. This is surely rather slim evidence, especially since the Testament nowhere indicates that the "new priest" was raised from the dead.

Dupont-Sommer, however, claims that his theory is given confirmation by 1QpHab 11:4-8.²⁴⁰ He translates,

238. M.DeJonge, op. cit., pp.41ff.

239. P.Winter, reviewing Dupont-Sommer's The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes, VT V, 1955, p.108.

240. Cf. appendix D, pp.64ff. for further discussion of this passage.

The explanation of this refers to the Wicked Priest who persecuted the Teacher of Righteousness so far as to swallow him up in the heat of his anger. They dared to disrobe him, but at the moment of the sacred rest of the Day of Atonement he (the Teacher of Righteousness) appeared to them (the wicked) to swallow them up and to cause them to stumble on the Day of the Fast, which for them is a Sabbath rest.²⁴¹

What Dupont-Sommer does in this passage is to posit a rather dubious change in subject. What one would normally read as "he (the wicked priest) appeared unto them (the righteous) to swallow them up", a reference to the extreme persecution of the sect by the priest, Dupont-Sommer reads "he (the Teacher of Righteousness) appeared", a reference to his resurrection from the dead. However notwithstanding Dupont-Sommer's argument that the "understood subject often changes from one verb to another", the logical subject of the verbs throughout this passage is only וְהַכֹּהֵן הַרָעָה. As Dupont-Sommer admits, only the context can give the solution in ambiguous cases, so we must also turn to the context here. The interpretation in question concerns Habakkuk 2:15 which reads (in 1QpHab), "Woe to the one causing his neighbors to drink the outpouring of his wrath, (and) also making (them) drunk in order to gaze upon their festivals".²⁴² The Habakkuk passage

²⁴¹. A. Dupont-Sommer, op. cit., p. 32.

²⁴². וְהַכֹּהֵן הַרָעָה is probably a deliberate change from the MT וְהַכֹּהֵן הַרָעָה to stress the fact of the wicked priest's appearance on the Day of Atonement. Notice that the 1QpHab text renders the structure much better than the difficult MT.

refers to the judgment due on someone who does misdeeds to his neighbors, to a group of people. Now it is to be expected that the interpretation of this by the author of 1QpHab will be concerned with some sort of judgment due on one person because he did evil to more than one person. This is exactly what occurs. The 1QpHab text refers to the one wicked priest who not only killed the Teacher of Righteousness, but also persecuted his followers, the "them" of the passage. That the sect suffered persecution, and probably some were killed, is clear; this is what drove them to Damascus. The author is then claiming or predicting that judgment will come upon the wicked priest. Therefore I would translate the passage as follows,

Its interpretation concerns the wicked priest who pursued after the Teacher of Righteousness to swallow him up in the indignation of his wrath in the place of his exile. And at the time of the festival of rest, the Day of Atonement, he appeared unto them to swallow them up and for their stumbling on the day of fasting, their Sabbath of rest.

A parallel to this situation in 1QpHab occurs in the Zadokite Fragments. CD 20:14,15 reads,

And from the day that the unique teacher was gathered in until the being consumed of all the men of war who returned with the man of untruth is about forty years.

This passage speaks of the death of the Teacher of Righteousness and some of his followers at the hands of the wicked priest and his men. Here, too, judgment is to come upon the

priest because of his misdeeds.

Dupont-Sommer must in reality then base his view of a supernatural appearing of the Teacher of Righteousness in 1QpHab upon a doubtful shift in subject. This is a tenuous theory to hold. There is nowhere else any hint of such a theophany. Surely it would have appeared in CD if it had happened.

The Teacher of Righteousness redivivus theory requires that the Messiah be the second Moses resurrected. There is nowhere any evidence, as far as I know, that such a view was ever held in Judaism. Later Rabbinic tradition, such as the midrash on Psalms 43:1, merged the functions of the prophet with those of the Messiah, that is, represented the Messiah as the second Moses, but this is not the same as the redivivus theory.²⁴³

Dupont-Sommer also turns to CD 19:35-20:1 as indicating his point of view. The section in question reads, "from the day when there was gathered in the unique teacher until a Messiah shall arise from Aaron and from Israel".²⁴⁴ But it is difficult to interpret this as referring to the same man under two different titles. One would expect something like,

²⁴³. Cf. J. Jeronias, "Μωυση", TWzNT, IV, pp. 864-867, for discussion of the second Moses-Messiah tradition.

²⁴⁴. A. Dupont-Sommer, op. cit., p. 55.

"until he shall arise as the Messiah of Aaron and Israel".

What then is the picture of the Messiah in the Zadokite Fragments? He is a single, unique individual who will slay the unrighteous by the edge of the sword. He is known as משיח, מלך, and נביא. There is nothing said as to his place in the kingdom age. The question of tribal origin is not answered. However the fact that David is given the Messianic title of "prince" in 5:2, while the Messiah is also known by this name in 7:20, indicates an Old Testament hope on the part of CD. Nowhere is there evidence that the high priest was called a משיח. His place in the final scene is not mentioned. This is strange if he is a Messiah, as some would say, and greater in authority than the lay Messiah. The only title he has, if the reference actually is to the high priest, is מנהל כלל משרת הקדש, "the supervisor over all the camps" (14:8,9).²⁴⁵

The Manual of Discipline

The Messiah gains only a single mention in the Manual of Discipline, but this one reference has caused a stir of

²⁴⁵. Cf. appendix B for discussion of the organization of the sect. Many scholars contend that CD teaches a Messiah who will anoint the remnant with the Holy Spirit. This is based on 2:11-13, which I discuss at length in appendix A, pp. 10-21, and conclude that the reference is not to the Messiah, but rather to the prophets.

controversy.²⁴⁶ The ordinary hope is changed---not one anointed person, but two! Or so it seems.

(The men of the community) shall not depart from the whole counsel of the Torah to walk in all their hardness of heart, but they shall be ruled by the first laws with which the men of the community began to be disciplined until the coming of a prophet and the anointed ones of Aaron and Israel (אֲנֹכְחִי וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְאַהֲרֹן וְנָבִיא). (9:9-11)

246. A further Messianic reference has been seen in IQS 10:1-4. W.H.Brownlee, BASOR 88 10-12, pp.50,51, discerns an acrostic in the emphasis on the letters aleph, mem, and nun. The letter aleph he reads as "Elohim", mem is "Michael", and nun is the Messiah (seen in the Old Testament as נָבִיא, מִיכָאֵל, אֱלֹהִים, and מָשִׁיחַ). In a later study he identifies the mem and the nun with the functions of the high priest as a great luminary (נִרְאָה) and a diadem (כִּנֹּר). This is based on IQSb 4:27ff. which says that the priest will be "a great luminary to illumine the world with knowledge . . . a diadem for the holy of holies" (cf. "Messianic Motifs of Qumran and the New Testament", NTS III, 1956, to be published). The passage is at best obscure, but if an acrostic is read I would suggest that aleph is "Elohim", mem is "Moses" ("the mem is large for the holy of holies" (10:4), or rather, "Moses is important for the sect" (known as the "holy of holies" in IQS 8:5,6); this is emphasized by the beginning of the passage, "As they renew themselves, the mem is large . . .", for the yearly renewal of the covenant (2:19ff.) was an annual vow of a return to the Law of Moses; cf. appendix A), and nun is the "prophet", the coming Elijah ("the nun is for the unlocking of His eternal mercies" (10:4), or rather, "the prophet is the forerunner of the Messiah, the sign or key to the Messianic age"). Cf. M.Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, pp.242,243; J.Vermès, Les manuscrits du désert de Juda, p.154; G.Lambert, "Le Manuel de Discipline du désert de Juda", ALBO II, fasc. 23, p.37, note 88; J.Coppens, "Où en est le problème des manuscrits de Qumrân?", NC VI, 1954, pp.249-252; R.Goossens, "L'énigme du signe nun dans le Manuel de Discipline", NC VI, 1954, pp.5-39; A.Dupont-Sommer, "Contribution à l'exégèse du Manuel de Discipline x 1-8", VT II, 1952, pp.233-240; A.Jaubert, "Le calendrier des Jubilés et de la secte de Qumrân: Ses origines bibliques", VT III, 1953, p.257, note 1; D.Barthélemy, "Notes en marge de publications récents sur les manuscrits de Qumran", RB LIX, 1952, p.200.

Two things have been added to the hope expressed in CD--- a prophet and another anointed one. The plural מָשִׁיחַ is clear and cannot be doubted except as a scribal error. This passage of course has formed one of the strongest arguments for the two Messiah view. On the surface it appears to teach a priestly and a lay Messiah appearing at the same time. If this is true it is strangely unique in the literature of the Jews.

In this section I wish to discuss four items---(1) the identification of the prophet, (2) the question of two Messiahs, (3) some suggested interpretations of מָשִׁיחַ, and (4) the question of a Suffering Servant-Messiah.

(1) The identification of the prophet

The "prophet" I have previously linked with Elijah, the expected precursor of the Messiah.²⁴⁷ However he has occasionally been identified with the Messiah. Thus A.J.B. Higgins translates, "until the coming of a Prophet (i.e. the Messiah)²⁴⁸ and the anointed ones of Aaron and Israel".²⁴⁹

247. Cf. supra, pp.56-64.

248. This is the Teacher of Righteousness resurrected, according to him ("Priest and Messiah", VT III, 1953, p.333).

249. Ibid.; cf. also W.D.Davies, "'Knowledge' in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Matthew 25-30", HTR XLVI, 1953, p.127. W.H. Brownlee, BASOR SS 10-12, pp.35,36, note 19, also renders the passage this way, though he does not hold that "prophet" refers to the Teacher of Righteousness; cf. also his "John the Baptist in the New Light of Ancient Scrolls", Interpretation IX, 1955, pp.72,81-83.

However, as M.Burrows points out, this involves the very precarious assumption that the Messiah is one who is not so designated, while those given this title are only his followers.²⁵⁰ W.H.Brownlee argues that there is background for this in Daniel 9:24, "to seal vision and prophet, and to anoint the most holy".²⁵¹ According to 1QS 8:5,6 the sect in eschatological fulfillment is to become "a holy house of Israel, a most holy institution of Aaron". The divine anointing which would constitute them as this holy temple would therefore make them the "anointed ones of Aaron and Israel", and the passage from Daniel would explain the coordination of prophet and anointed ones.

This is interesting exegesis, but not very convincing, especially since the "prophet" is Daniel, not the Messiah, and is not even anointed, as is the "most holy". The "coordination" between Daniel and 1QS is rather dubious. Furthermore this theory ignores the evidence of CD where the parallel (except for the plural) נְשִׂיחַ אֲהָרֵן וְיִשְׂרָאֵל shows that the "prophet" is someone different than the Messiah. The prophet is

250. M.Burrows, "The Messiahs of Aaron and Israel", ATR XXXIV, 1952, p.204. However it should be pointed out that CD 5:21-6:1 speaks of "Moses and the holy anointed ones (prophets)". Here, though Moses was a prophet and more venerated than the others, is not called "anointed", while the title is given to others.

251. W.H.Brownlee, Interpretation IX, 1955, p.83.

undoubtedly the Messianic forerunner.

L.H.Silberman believes that the "prophet" (Elijah) would arrive first of all on the Messianic scene in order to deal with the unsolved legal problems of the sect, and then he would anoint a high priest and re-establish (perhaps anoint as well) the Davidic scion on the throne of Israel.²⁵² He points to Talmudic traditions holding that the anointing of the high priest had ceased when Josiah had hidden the oil,²⁵³ and that Elijah would restore this oil.²⁵⁴

This interpretation of LQS 9:9-11 is possible if we do not consider the broad context. The bringing of new laws and interpretations by the prophet is correct,²⁵⁵ but not his role of anointing. There is no hint in the rest of LQS, or in any of the Scrolls, that such was to be the case. In fact LQM 9:8 indicates that the oil was never considered to be lost. It forbids the priests to engage in battle so that

252. L.H.Silberman, op. cit., p.82.

253. iHor. 1:4 (47c); V.Aptowitzer, Parteipolitik der Hasmonäerzeit im rabbinischen und pseudoepigraphischen Schrifttum (Wien: Kohut, 1927), pp.1,192 (note 2) (as mentioned by Silberman, op. cit., p.81, note 2).

254. Cf. Silberman, op. cit., p.81. L.Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, VI, p.19, note 112, points out that the earliest tradition knows of three concealed objects which Elijah would restore: three jugs, one filled with manna, another with water from the well of Miriam, and the third with the sacred oil.

255. Cf. supra, pp.59,60.

"they shall not profane the oil of their priestly anointing in the blood of the nations of vanity". It might be argued that in 1QM the prophet had already come and the oil restored. But there is no mention in the War Scroll of a prophet, nor do 1QpHab or CD expect any such prophetic activity. If the purpose of the prophet was to center in part on restoring the oil of anointing, surely the Scrolls would have mentioned it in a much plainer fashion than the dubious reference in 1QS 9:11. Furthermore if the "anointing" tradition did lie behind the teaching in 1QS, one would also expect reference to the restoration of the manna and the water as well (cf. note 254). The Qumran texts are significantly silent on these matters. Silberman's view is plausible in vacuo, but not in argumento.

(2) The question of two Messiahs

Are there two "Messiahs" in 1QS 9:11? There are perhaps two "anointed ones" in this passage, but by no means two "Messiahs". This is maintained for four reasons. (a) To term the priest of 1QS 9:11 (if there is one at all) a "Messiah" is to misuse the word. As we saw earlier "Messiah", at least at the time of the Scrolls, was the unique designation of the warrior-king who would lead Israel to victory over the enemy and who would reign in the new age. Never in any Hebrew literature is the ordinary high priest or the high priest

of eschatological days called a "Messiah". The "Messiah" is a royal figure, a ruler. The priest is known rather by terms such as "the anointed priest" (מָשִׁיחַ הַכֹּהֵן; Lev. 4:3,5,16; 6:5), or "an anointed one" (מָשִׁיחַ), as Onias III is called in Daniel 9:25,26. The designation by N.Wieder of the priest in the Karaite literature as a "Messiah" I have shown to be incorrect. Even if a priestly leader is seen in the Testaments that is something different. There he is the warrior-king, and thus has in fact become the "Messiah", the deliverer. Now this is clearly not the position of the so-called "Messiah of Aaron" in 1QS, for what place then does the "Messiah of Israel" have? This latter figure is to be the warrior-king, as we know from 1QSa, 1QSB, 1QM, and CD.

(b) Nowhere in the Scrolls is the priest viewed in the traditional understanding of the Messiah. In 1QSa he is the religious leader. It is significant that though he obviously has the primary place he is not called a "Messiah". The term is reserved for the lay warrior, the one who is called מָשִׁיחַ, "the (only) Messiah". In 1QSB the role of the priest is to minister in the Temple in the normal way. 1QM speaks of the high priest as drawing up the battle-plans, and of the priests as blowing the trumpets to direct the battle. The high priest is even called "the priest designated for

the appointed day of vengeance" (15:6), but this involved only drawing up the plans and encouraging the troops, a parallel to the place of the high priest in Deuteronomy 20:1ff. He had no part in the actual conflict, for the priests are expressly forbidden to fight. The real "Messiah" is identified as the "prince of all the congregation" (5:1,2). In every place in Hebrew literature where two Messiahs are taught the dual role of the traditional Messiah is divided, as we have seen. But in 1QM, 1QSa, 1QSB, and CD the priest is neither warrior nor king.

(c) The term "Aaron and Israel" cannot be used to designate the lineage of two Messiahs, as I have already pointed out, but indicates the general make-up of the sect.

(d) The lack of separate mention of the "Messiah of Aaron" in any of the Qumran literature makes suspect any attempt to find a priest in the phrase under question.

(3) Suggested interpretations of 9:11

How then are we to understand the plural משיח? I would suggest three possible answers, giving them in inverse order of preference. (a) The phrase is to be translated "anointed ones of Aaron and Israel", and the reference be to the line of Davidic kings in the Messianic age. We noticed that most Jews in this period conceived of the future in terms of the Davidic line. Even when the hope was focused on the

figure of one leader they were looking beyond; he was only the first of a line. So in 1QS we are given the broad Messianic picture---the expectation of the prophet and the future anointed rulers. This illustrates the Old Testament view of the continuation of the Davidic line. Jeremiah and Ezekiel see the "Messiah" as a series of successive kings. In the phrase "I will raise unto David a righteous branch" (Jer. 23:5), the figure of the "branch", as R.H.Charles points out, "is conceived of as a dynasty, and not as an individual".²⁵⁶ This is emphasized by Jeremiah 17:19-27 where the author sees the future kingdom as led by "kings": "there shall enter by the gates of this city kings and princes who sit on the throne of David" (17:25).

So the author of 1QS is saying that out of the righteous remnant, the sect of "Aaron and Israel", would come the line of future rulers in Israel. The very fact that the Qumran Scrolls view the kingdom as earthly and eternal rules out the possibility of the single Messianic figure found in some of the apocalyptic books, the only ruler of the temporary Messianic age. There would be only one "Messiah", but there had to be a succession of kings. The Messiah was not super-

²⁵⁶. R.H.Charles, A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity from Pre-Prophetic Times till the close of the New Testament, p.104; cf. Jer. 3:15; 23:4; Ezek. 34:23-31; 37:21-28; 45:8; 46:16.

natural, the kingdom was not temporary, and men would not be immortal.²⁵⁷

(b) The phrase is still to be read as "the anointed ones of Aaron and Israel", but the reference is to the restoration of the Davidic king and the Aaronic high priest. It is to be noted that in the Scrolls when a Davidic Messiah is presented, at least in three cases there is also a high priest. Thus in 1QM there is the "prince of all the congregation" (5:1) and the "high priest" (15:4), in 1QSa it is "the Messiah" (2:12) and the "priest" (2:19), and in 1QSB it is the "prince of all the congregation" (5:20) and the "priest" (2,3). In the other Scrolls---CD, 1QpHab, 1QH, 1QS---there is no high priest who accompanies the Messiah. However this need not imply anything, except an incomplete Messianic statement. The Old Testament does not always speak of the priest in reference to the new age. Yet the restoration of the priesthood was an indisputable part of their hope. Such is then the case in the Scrolls. The priestly leadership of the sect is enough to know that the sons of Levi would play an important part in the coming kingdom.

The picture in 1QS may well be that of dissatisfaction

257. Cf. R.H. Macintyre, The Other Side of Death, p.63, "where the kingdom was regarded as an everlasting kingdom on earth there could be no place for a millennial reign of the Messiah".

with the Maccabean priest-kings, or earlier still, with the corruption of the priesthood during the days of Antiochus Epiphanes. The Qumran sect had withdrawn itself from the worship at the Temple, perhaps due to its profanation by Antiochus. The existing priesthood was becoming a political prize, its purity was defiled, and the Hebrews were under the heel of the hated foreigner. So they looked for the time when the legitimate high priest and the Davidic ruler would take their places in Israel, when the temple and the throne would be restored. Those figures would of course arise from their own midst. The members of the sect were the righteous remnant where all Israel was represented. From nowhere else could they come. Perhaps there is a background here for the Rabbinic teaching that the Messiah would re-establish and anoint the high priest, so that once again God would accept their offerings.²⁵⁸

We have seen that the Messianic days were generally regarded as led by the high priest alongside of the Messiah. So the author of 1QS is expressing that hope. Out of Qumran, from "Aaron and Israel", would come the salvation of Israel ---the king and the priest. Before their arrival the prophet Elijah would arise to announce this coming kingdom and this

258. L.Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, III, p.153.

return of true Temple worship. As God says in Jeremiah 33:17,18, "David shall never lack a man to sit on the throne of the house of Israel, and the Levitical priests shall never lack a man in My presence to offer burnt offerings, to burn cereal offerings, and to make sacrifices forever".²⁵⁹

(c) The plural 'N'WN is a scribal error and the Messianic hope of lQS is to be read as "until the coming of a prophet and the Messiah of Aaron and Israel", or in other words, "until the coming of Elijah and the Davidic Messiah". This appears to be the best solution. There can be no doubt that the tribe of Judah was represented in the Qumran sect. A son of David could easily arise from "Aaron and Israel".

To suggest an error in copying is always dangerous unless there is good evidence to support such an assertion. However I believe this evidence is present in the scroll. It is true that this is an important change, but it is not necessary to assume that the copyist was understanding what he was copying. The importance of the material has nothing to do with the problem. As S.Zeitlin says for the scribe of lQIs^a, so with lQS; he was copying "mechanically".²⁶⁰ I would suggest the

259. This view would then be similar to that of L.H.Silberman, except for the anointing work of the "prophet".

260. S.Zeitlin, "The Fiction of the Recent Discoveries Near the Dead Sea", JQR XLIV, 1953-1954, p.105.

following reasons why there may have been an error. (i) The text of LQS is not free from error. Indeed on the very line in question "prophet" was originally spelled כ'י, and later the beth was added above the line by another scribe. This sort of thing is common. Every column has a correction of some sort, an addition of a letter or a word, a change in spelling, or even the writing in of a complete line of text. LQS 8:9-11 is a good example of the carelessness of the copyist. The hands of three scribes are noticeable in the addition and erasure of parts of the text.²⁶¹ In regard to 9:11 a later corrector may not have realized that the plural מ'ימיו was incorrect. (ii) The similarity to the Messianic expression in CD suggests the singular מ'ימיו. As we have seen CD clearly expects a single Messiah. The question of a Karaitic change in CD does not affect the fact that the internal evidence shows only one מ'ימיו. The only difference then between LQS and CD would be the mention of the "prophet". But this need not mean anything, for silence on the subject in CD does not signify the lack of a prophetic expectation. In fact CD 6:11, as I have pointed out earlier (pp.60-64), probably indicates this hope of a prophet. Notice also the close correspondence in ideas between LQS and CD regarding

²⁶¹. Cf. W.H. Brownlee, BASOR SS 10-12, p.33, notes 22, 23, 25, 28, 32.

obedience to rules. 1QS 9:11 says to abide by the "first laws" until the coming of the prophet and the משיח. CD 12:23 commands that the sect shall "walk by these (laws) during the epoch of wickedness until the Messiah of Aaron and Israel shall arise".²⁶² Consider also that in both CD and 1QS the priest has the primary place in the organization of the sect, yet neither scroll is concerned about his place in the eschaton. It is the lay warrior who is in view. Thus in both scrolls the Messianic formula is identical (if we omit the plural), the temporary nature of the present laws is stressed, and the priestly organization is the same. Yet CD looked for the coming of a single "anointed one", the Messiah. (iii) The change to the singular "Messiah" fits its use in the rest of the Scrolls. 1QSa has only one משיח, the משיח ישראל or משיח. CD has merely משיח אהרן וישראל. In none of the other scrolls is the priest ever known as an "anointed one". It seems best to reserve the title for the lay warrior.

These I believe are the three best ways to understand the phrase משיח אהרן וישראל. At the present time we have insufficient materials to make a final decision.

262. Cf. also CD 14:18,19.

(4) The question of a Suffering Servant-Messiah

For a final consideration in 1QS and its Messianic teaching we must notice the so-called Servant-Messiah in 4:10-23.²⁶³ W.H.Brownlee in particular has espoused this point of view, although J.P.Audet and Bo Reicke before him had seen a Messiah as a sufferer in this passage.²⁶⁴ The translation given by Brownlee is as follows,

Now God, in the mysteries of His understanding and in His glorious wisdom, has appointed an end to the existence of perversity; and at the season of visitation He will destroy it for ever; and then the universal truth will appear for ever; for it has become contaminated with the ways of wickedness, under the dominion of perversity, until the season of the decreed judgment. And at that time God will purify by His truth all the deeds of a man; and He will refine him more than the sons of men, in order to

263. J.Klausner, The Messianic Idea in Israel, p.405, notes "In the whole Jewish Messianic literature of the Tannaitic period there is no trace of the 'suffering Messiah'"; cf. also G.Montefiore, Rabbinic Literature and Gospel Teaching (London: Macmillan, 1930), pp.305,309. O.S.Rankin, "The Messianic Office in the Literature of Judaism and the New Testament", ZAW LXIII, 1952, p.262, observes, "The Gospels reveal an awareness that Jesus introduced a new element into the Messianic conceptions of the time so far as He accepted them", that is, "the idea of a suffering Messiah". Test.Benj. 3:8 speaks of a sinless one dying for ungodly men, but as H.H.Rowley points out ("The Suffering Servant and the Davidic Messiah", OS VIII, 1950, p.116), though this is apparently vicarious, there is nothing to show that he was a Messianic figure.

264. W.H.Brownlee, "The Servant of the Lord in the Qumran Scrolls II", BASOR 135, 1954, pp.33-38; J.P.Audet, "Affinités littéraires et doctrinales du 'Manuel de Discipline'", RB LIX, 1952, p.232; Bo Reicke, Handschriftorna från Qumran (eller 'Ain Feshcha) I-III, p.70, note 54; G.Vermes, Quelques traditions de la Communauté de Qumran, pp.54ff. (as quoted by W.H.Brownlee, "Messianic Motifs of Qumran and the New Testament", NTS III, 1956, to be published) identifies the figure in 4:10-23 with the Teacher of Righteousness, but my arguments with regard to the Messianic identification apply equally to Vermes theory.

consume every evil spirit from the midst of his flesh, and to cleanse him through the Holy Spirit from all wicked practices; and He will sprinkle upon him the Spirit of Truth as purifying water so as to cleanse him from all untrue abominations and from being contaminated with the Spirit of impurity, so that he may give the upright insight into the knowledge of the Most High and into the wisdom of the sons of Heaven, in order to make wise the perfect of way. For God has chosen them to be an eternal covenant; and all the glory of Adam (and/or, of mankind) will be theirs; and there will be no more perversity, all works of fraud having been put to shame.

There are three cruces interpretationis---(a) "God will purify by His truth all the deeds of a man" (4:20), (b) "He will refine him more than the sons of men" (4:20), and (c) "in order to consume every evil spirit from the midst of his flesh" (4:20,21). Let us consider these three passages.

(a) Brownlee had originally translated this phrase as "God will purge by His truth all the deeds of man".²⁶⁵ The difference lies in the meaning of "man" (711). Most translators have understood this word in the sense of Brownlee's original translation, that is, "mankind". So G.Lambert has "toutes les oeuvres humaines",²⁶⁶ and A.Dupont-Sommer reads, "toutes les oeuvres d'un chacun".²⁶⁷ However Brownlee (and

265. W.H.Brownlee, BASOR SS 10-12, p.16.

266. G.Lambert, ALBO II, fasc. 23, 1951, p.27.

267. A.Dupont-Sommer, "L'instruction sur les deux esprits dans le Manuel de Discipline", RHR CXLII, 1952, p.11.

Reicke before him, loc. cit.,) now sees a reference to a single, unique individual---"a man". He claims that "it is doubtful that (711) can ever have the generic sense".²⁶⁸ This is perhaps true, but certainly 711 can carry the meaning of "each man" or "any man", having a more general sense, and need not be limited to one person. For example, Micah 2:2 says, "(The wicked) covet fields and seize them; and houses, and take them away; they oppress a man (711) and his house, a man (711) and his inheritance".²⁶⁹

Brownlee further points out that 711 is used as a designation of the Messiah in LQH 3:9,10, and also sometimes carries Messianic connotations in the Old Testament (II Sam. 23:1; Zech. 13:7). In the first place it is true that the Messiah is the 711 in LQH 3, but the reason for its use there lies in the fact, as Brownlee himself admits, that the word strictly refers to a male as opposed to a female. The word in that text occurs in parallel with 712. So in the symbolism of the sect as a pregnant woman the text reads, "She who conceived a male child (711) was distressed by her pains, for with the waves of death she shall be delivered of a man child (712)". Secondly, the two Old Testament

268. W.H.Brownlee, BASOR 135, 1954, p.37, note 30.

269. Cf. Hab. 2:5; etc.; Targ.Onk. & Jon.Ik. 1:1; Jastrow, I, pp.208,209.

references can be called "Messianic" only in a very loose sense. In neither case does 711 refer to the future king, but rather to the reigning king.²⁷⁰ In fact CD 19:7-9 quotes Zechariah 13:7 without reference to the Messiah.

The identification of 711 with the Suffering Servant-Messiah is made even less likely when one considers that the purification is accomplished by "truth", and not by suffering. This concept is paralleled in 1QS 3:6-8,

For it is through a spirit of true counsel
for the ways of a man that all his iniquities
will be atoned so that he may look at the light
of life, and through a holy spirit disposed to-
ward unity in His truth that he will be cleansed
of all his iniquities

At best then the 711 is only a symbolic Suffering Servant. And in any case there is nothing in all of 4:10-23 to indicate any expiatory work involved in the purification of the "Servant". The result of his cleansing and sprinkling is (if Brownlee's translation is correct) "that he may give the upright insight into the knowledge of the Most High . . . in order to make wise the perfect of way". His cleansing will fit him to be a prophet, a revealer of God's will. As Brownlee himself says, "Truth as revealed through sinful man is necessarily contaminated with (rolled up in) error."

²⁷⁰. Zech. 13:7 only becomes strictly Messianic in the New Testament. The Targum identifies the 711 with the 1111, the "governor", in this case, the "king of Babylon".

What is required for the perfect revelation of truth is a sinless man".²⁷¹ But a purification for such a purpose need not indicate one special personage. All the members of the sect, 1QS 8:6 tells us, were to be "witnesses of truth concerning judgment".

(b) Brownlee's previous translation of the second phrase was "refining for himself some of mankind", with "some" the understood object.²⁷² The Hebrew is $\text{לְ} \text{בְנֵי} \text{אָדָם}$. Most translators have also supplied an object for בְנֵי . For example Dupont-Sommer translates, "Il épurera pour soi (un chacun) parmi les fils d'homme",²⁷³ and Bo Reicke writes, "och avskilja (honom) åt sig från människors barn" ("and separate (him) out for himself from the children of man").²⁷⁴ Brownlee however finds the object in לְ , with לְ used in the Aramaic manner to denote the accusative, and the following ו he understands as the min of comparison. The allusion would then be to Isaiah 52:14. Brownlee's translation is of course possible, and his change to a masculine singular object is correct, since the rest of the

271. W.H.Brownlee, BASOR 135, 1954, p.36, note 28.

272. W.H.Brownlee, BASOR SS 10-12, p.16.

273. A.Dupont-Sommer, op. cit., p.11.

274. Following the translation of W.H.Brownlee, BASOR 135, 1954, p.36.

text postulates such a word (e.g. לשׂוּן, לְשׂוֹן, עֲלִי). However the use of לְ is awkward, though not impossible (cf. 1QS 11:16), and the more natural reading is "He will refine for Himself (each one) from among the sons of men".

Y.Yadin argues that בָּשָׂר בְּיָדוֹ is more correctly rendered "the body of (each) man", deriving בְּיָדוֹ²⁷⁵ from בָּנָה.²⁷⁶ This has some support in the following line, "to consume every evil spirit from the midst of his flesh". However aside from the allusion to Isaiah 52:14, which would argue for Brownlee's construction, בְּיָדוֹ would refer not to the "body" or "fleshy" part of a man, but rather in particular to his skeletal frame, his "build".²⁷⁷ So Jahweh "built the rib into a woman" (Gen. 2:22). As such then the figure is ill-chosen if בְּיָדוֹ is to be read "body". In any case one would not expect to find such a word or concept in this context, for it speaks of "refining בָּשָׂר בְּיָדוֹ". The Hebrews, including the writers of the Scrolls, did not believe that matter itself was evil, that "flesh" was sinful. An evil spirit resided in man's flesh or body, as 1QS 3:13-4:18 teaches, that is, was in the "midst of his flesh" (4:20,21), but the

275. מְבִנֵּה מְבִנִּי, due to the occasional practice in the Scrolls of the interchange of yodh and he.

276. Y.Yadin, "A Note on DSD iv,20", JBL LXXIV, 1955, pp.40,41.

277. Cf. מְבִנָּה, "structure" (Ezek. 40:2); בְּנִיָּן, "skeleton" (Jastrow, I, p.177).

material part of man's person was not thereby contaminated. So to read of refining the "body" would seem strange.

(c) The Hebrew of the third phrase is לְהַרְוֶה מִן הַבָּשָׂר. Brownlee considers מִן הַבָּשָׂר as equivalent to בָּשָׂר plus the poetic form of the suffix.²⁷⁸ Dupont-Sommer, pointing out that such a formation is unknown elsewhere, adopts the reading מִן הַבָּשָׂר (mem and sanekkh are similar in IQS) from מִן הַבָּשָׂר, "de son enveloppe charnelle", by "simple" metathesis.²⁷⁹ The body, viewed as the envelope of the soul, would be cleansed of the spirit of perversity. R. Marcus, seeing a different metathesis, reads מִן הַבָּשָׂר, and translates "to remove every evil spirit from the stains of his flesh".²⁸⁰ S. Iwry suggests emending to מִן הַבָּשָׂר, omitting the pronominal suffix on the following וּמִן הַבָּשָׂר, and then translates "from the wise of flesh".²⁸¹

Iwry's suggestion does violence to context by introducing a plural "wise" in the midst of singular objects--- וּמִן הַבָּשָׂר and וּמִן הַבָּשָׂר. The meaning of Marcus' reconstruction is somewhat obscure. One would expect the "stains" to be

278. W.H.Brownlee, BASOR SS 10-12, p.17, note 40.

279. A.Dupont-Sommer, op. cit., p.32.

280. R.Marcus, "Textual Notes on the Dead Sea Manual of Discipline", JNES XI, 1952, p.207.

281. As quoted by W.H.Brownlee, op. cit., p.17, note 40.

removed as well as the "evil spirit". What are the "stains of his flesh" if they are not caused by the evil spirit? Dupont-Sommer's "envelope" view is not compelling, especially in light of the Hebrew concept of soul-body unity. There is no hint in the Scrolls, though of course Dupont-Sommer thinks there is, that the soul and body were divided. This we have already discussed. Brownlee's explanation of מִן־בְּשָׁר appears to be the correct one. The fact that it is a hapax-legomenon is not damaging. The Scrolls are full of such phenomena. The picture of consuming every evil spirit "from the midst" of man's flesh, that is, from residence within man, fits the teaching of this section. God has apportioned each man a certain proportion of good and evil spirits (1QS 4:15,16), but at the day of visitation the evil spirit will be driven from man and destroyed.

What then is the solution to the problem of 1QS 4:18-23? (a) Even if the passage indicates a single Suffering Servant there is no indication given that he is a Messiah. Brownlee and others use the term too easily. The use of מָלַךְ proves nothing except that he may be a special personage, but not necessarily the Messiah. Brownlee's parallel between 1QS 4:21, "He will sprinkle upon him the Spirit of Truth" and 1QIsa^a 52:14, "I have anointed his appearance" is not valid.²⁸²

²⁸². This is not to deny, of course, the parallel constructions in Isa. 52:14 (מָלַךְ מָלַךְ) and 1QS 4:20 (מָלַךְ מָלַךְ).

Aside from the nebulous evidence in 1QIs^a 52:14, the "anointing" of one's appearance, and the "sprinkling" of the Holy Spirit to cleanse from sin are not the same thing. The fact that the "Servant" is to "give the upright insight into the knowledge of the Most High" (4:22) does not justify Brownlee's link with the Davidic "shoot" of Isaiah 11:2, who has "the spirit of wisdom and insight . . . the spirit of knowledge".²⁸³ Teaching was the job of all the maskilim of the sect. 1QS 3:13 says, "For the maskil's use that he may instruct and teach all the sons of light". If he were to be the Messiah, it is strange that such a thing would not be mentioned more explicitly.

(b) The passage does not even teach a Suffering Servant in any expiatory or substitutionary sense. Refining comes "by truth", and the result is that he will be able to teach others God's will. Brownlee's reference to various places in Hebrew literature where the Servant's suffering is seen as refining is non sequitur.²⁸⁴ The person in view in this passage does not suffer.

(c) It is possible that the reference is to the refining of all the just in the last days. The passage in question

283. W.H.Brownlee, BASOR 135, 1954, p.38, note 38.

284. Ibid., p.37, note 31.

would then read, "And at that time God will purify by His truth all the deeds of (each) man, and He will refine (each one) from the sons of man, in order to consume every evil spirit from the midst of his flesh". The phrase "each one" would of course refer only to the elect (1QS 4:22), the ones who had returned to the Law and lived a life of obedience to God. In other words here would be described the time of Jeremiah's "new covenant" and of Ezekiel's "pouring out of the Spirit".²⁸⁵ The sect had not yet received these things; they still awaited that momentous day. In the meantime baptism became for them a symbol of that future sprinkling of the Spirit. Now it was water; then it would be the Holy Spirit. The link with the baptism of John is obvious. John's baptism was one of "repentance for the remission of sins", but it was only a special eschatological sacrament (cf. Acts 9:1-6). He was the precursor of the one who would baptize with the "Holy Spirit and with fire" (Matt. 3:11).²⁸⁶ The Qumran sect entered into a covenant of repentance symbolized by baptism. The Manual of Discipline describes the yearly

285. Cf. Jer. 31:31ff.; Ezek. 29:25-29; 36:25-27; Isa. 32:15; 44:3; Joel 3:1,2.

286. J. Coppens, "La secte de Qumrân et son attente eschatologique", NC V, 1953, p.9, points out that herein lies an important distinction between the early church and the sect of Qumran. For the former the Spirit was active among them, but for the latter it was still to be received.

renewal of that covenant by all the members of the sect. They awaited the day when God would cleanse "through the Holy Spirit from all wicked practices" (4:21).

(d) On the other hand if one were to accept the translation of Brownlee the figure in view would not be the Messiah, but the prophetic forerunner. The words refer to his special eschatological role as the proclaimer of God's will. If he is depicted as a "Suffering Servant" it is only in a spiritual sense. The "prophet" had not yet come at the time of the writing of 1QS. The sect awaited God's eschatological revelation. His appearing is viewed as taking place "at that time" (4:20), that is, "at the season of visitation" (4:18,19), for when he arrived the end would be at hand. This "man" is given one task in the passage ---to reveal God's will to the just. This is certainly the work of the "prophet". Since a perfect revelation of God's truth requires a sinless man, this figure would be purified from all sin. The sect would then have looked for a 711, a mighty man, a unique individual, the "prophet". God would make him the perfect channel for His revelation.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this thesis I asked the question: How did the Qumran sect conceive of the future? During the course of these pages I have sought to answer that question. It would do us well now to look back over the road we have traveled, and to consider again the main conclusions that I have formed.

A. The Teacher of Righteousness. Out of the bewildered few in Israel who had separated themselves from the popular religion of the day, who hated the immorality and desecration of their leaders, who refused to participate in the unclean Temple service, and yet who were wandering blindly, unsure as to what to do, there arose a leader, a new lawgiver, a prophet-priest, a "king". He was called מִרְיָהוּ הַמִּצְדִּיק, the Teacher of Righteousness, and perhaps מִרְיָהוּ הַלֵּוִי, the Teacher of the Community.¹ He formed them into a cohesive unit, he showed them the meaning of righteousness, he led them into the desert, he gave them new laws, he taught them about the future. A martyr's death was his reward.² But that is not the whole story. He was also הַמֶּלֶךְ הַבֶּרֶךְ, the True Teacher,

1. Cf. supra, p.54, note 21.

2. Cf. appendix D for a further discussion of the history of the sect.

and מורה היחיד, the Unique Teacher. Israel had seen other teachers before, but none like the "Teacher". He was the second Moses, the harbinger of the Messianic days. His titles bear record to this fact---Lawgiver, Teacher, Searcher of the Law, Unique One, Vessel. After his death the sect awaited the soon-coming of Elijah, the one who "teaches righteousness in the end of days" (CD 6:11). His advent would mean the imminent arrival of the Messiah. Down-trodden they might be now, oppressed, hated, but soon "the ransomed of the Lord" would "return and come to Zion with singing" (Isa. 35:10).

B. The nature of the eschaton. The early Old Testament conception persists to a large degree in two of the Scrolls. 1QSa and 1QSb, though fragmentary, do not conceive of an eschaton in the proper sense of the word. A better age will evolve out of the old. There is no real idea of finality. Though they betray later thought by their teaching of a warrior "prince" and a militant "Messiah", yet there is no destruction of evil, no cleansing of the world, only the subjugation of the Gentiles. The rest of the Scrolls view the eschaton as the time of a great irruption into history. Evil is annihilated, fire is poured out, the earth is cleansed, and a completely new age emerges. In any case this is the imagery that is used. The actual effect would not be as

severe as the words would lead us to suppose. Israel would still have her servants. In all of the texts the effect of the last days is world wide, but the Zadokite Fragments are concerned above all to show that wicked Israel was also due for punishment.

C. The place of the righteous. Apocalyptic emphasis is seen in the Scrolls' teaching regarding the role of the righteous in the end time. They would endure persecution, indeed they were already suffering, but the remnant would be spared to rise up in vindication against the unrighteous. Now they would suffer in silence, then they would wield the sword. The reason for the suffering of the righteous is explained in the symbolism of Isaiah's Suffering Servant, though the effects would apply only to the individual. There would be no real expiatory work involved, but rather suffering and persecution are seen as the means of purifying the righteous, making them fit for the kingdom age. 1QS and 1QSa add a further note with their concept of the sect as a sanctuary where the members offer themselves as free-will offerings, as spiritual sacrifices, in total obedience to God. The effect would be to bring God's favor on the land. In this sense only do the Scrolls speak of an expiatory work on the part of the Servant community. Repentance would bring peace, the restoration of Israel.

D. The abode of the dead. There is a lack of real interest in the abode of the dead. The Old Testament land of shades and darkness still lingers in the teaching and thought of all the Scrolls. 1QS speaks of punishment in fire for the wicked after death, but the righteous appear to return to the "land of dust". So we see the beginning of a Gehenna-Sheol concept. Gehenna was to be the abode of the wicked; Sheol that of the righteous.

E. The problem of resurrection. The Qumran texts do not exhibit any hope of resurrection, but rather stand in the tradition of the Old Testament. Death is the end of all that can be called life. Living as they were in the "end of days", the authors of the Scrolls did not seem to worry about what would happen after death. The eschaton was fast approaching, the dawning of the new age, and they would live to see it, for God would spare them through the time of trouble. There was no need to be concerned about resurrection, if indeed they ever considered it a possibility.

F. The view of the kingdom. There is no expectation of a temporary Messianic reign on earth, nor is there any thought of a heavenly abode. The traditional prophetic view of a restored, eternal, earthly kingdom is uniformly depicted in the Scrolls. The nations would be destroyed, the throne and the Temple would flourish once again. Nature would

blossom forth in great fertility, and men would know the joys that Adam experienced in the Garden of Eden.

G. The question of immortality. This was the hope of many apocalyptic writers, but it found no favor with the Qumran sect. Immortality was to be corporate and not individual, in one's descendants, not in one's self. God would dwell on earth, and man would have direct access to Him forever, but this did not give rise to a belief in personal immortality. The authors of the Qumran Scrolls used exalted language, they spoke with the timeless vocabulary that is part of any real fellowship with God, but that is as far as it went. They themselves would not live forever. It is rather the eternity of the line that is taught, the permanence of the seed of David, of the sons of Levi and Aaron, of restored Israel.

H. The person and role of the Messiah. The Scrolls exhibit the normal Jewish expectation of an earthly "Messiah", a warrior-king. All but 1QpHab speak of this figure. But as is typical in the literature of that day, his role both in battle and in the kingdom is not stressed. The emphasis rather lies on the fact that "to (God) is the war" (1QM 11:2) and "the kingship shall be to the God of Israel" (1QM 6:6). Some have suggested that there is the teaching of a Suffering Servant-Messiah in the complete Qumran Isaiah scroll, but the

facts do not confirm this theory. The basic conclusions to be drawn from the Messianic evidence in the Scrolls are as follows: (1) משיח emerges in 1QSa as a technical term describing the eschatological warrior of Israel. The Scrolls are careful to reserve this title, and the fuller משיח' מלך or משיח' מלך ישראל, for this secular leader of the hosts of Israel. Nowhere is the high priest viewed as a "Messiah". He would be "anointed", though this is never expressly stated, but he could not by the very nature of the term carry this unique eschatological title. The "Messiah" is a political and royal figure, the one who wages the war and rules the kingdom. The high priest is never described in those terms.

(2) The Messiah is depicted as an earthly son of David. This is seen by his titles of משיח, מלך, and מלך ישראל, by the application to him of the prophecies in Genesis 49, Numbers 24, and Isaiah 11, and by the lack of any contrary teaching or antipathy to the line of Judah. His special calling is attested by the Messianic interpretation of Psalms 2:7 in 1QSa. His "birth" from the midst of the righteous remnant, the sect of "Aaron and Israel", is described in 1QH 3.

(3) The position of the Messiah in the organization of the sect was secondary to the priest, or at least the religious was more important than the secular. It was a hierocratic

group, and the priest held the place of supreme authority. He took precedence at communal gatherings and at meals. The high priest drew up the battle-plans, while the ordinary priests directed the attack by the blowing of trumpets. That this concept of priestly leadership received its form from the proposed hierocracy of Ezekiel is quite probable. The influence of Ezekiel, seen clearly in 1QM, is also found in 1QSa and 1QSB. However the so-called eschatological meal in 1QSa, supposedly patterned after Ezekiel, is merely to be viewed as an ordinary communal meal at which the Messiah is present.

(4) The theory of two Messiahs has been shown to be untenable, or at least, ill-stated. It is undeniable that there are two important figures in these texts, the high priest and the warrior. However we must not speak of them as "Messiahs", but rather as "anointed ones", or better still and more correctly, "the high priest and the Messiah". The reference to the parallels of Moses-Aaron, Zerubbabel-Joshua, and Bar Kokhba-Eleazar, and to the evidence of the Testaments, confirms this interpretation. The authors of the Scrolls looked for a single, Davidic Messiah who would actually lead the armies of Israel in triumph over all their enemies. This warrior would be accompanied and directed by the Aaronic high priest.

(5) The plural מְשִׁיחִים of 1QS 9:11 I have understood as a scribal error for מְשִׁיחַ, though suggesting the possibility of interpreting it either as a reference to the line of Davidic rulers, or else to the Davidic Messiah and the Aaronic high priest.

(6) The interpretation of a Suffering Servant-Messiah has been shown to be incorrect. Such a concept was the unique contribution of Jesus Christ. The sect as a body would undergo persecution, but nowhere is the role of the Messiah ever described in terms of vicarious suffering.

(7) The authors of the Scrolls did not look for the return of the Teacher of Righteousness as the Messiah. He was rather only the second Moses. He had died a martyr's death, it is true, but he would not rise again.

What then can we conclude from the evidence of the Scrolls? How did the Qumran sect conceive of the future? As one would expect from the fact that the basis of the sect was a return to the Torah, to the true essence of what God required, the attachment in thought and doctrine to the Old Testament is close. The ancient concepts hold sway almost without exception. There is nothing really startling. The inroads of Greek thought, of new theories, are scarcely felt. The sect had broken with organized religion in Jerusalem on the very fact that the old ways were being corrupted. The author of

1Q5b writes vividly of a return to the days of a pure Temple worship and a Davidic rulership. It is true that a human deliverer, a non-Old Testament Messiah, takes a central part in their future thoughts, but the Scrolls are quick to remind us that though human agents are used, the final time is in truth the "day of God's visitation". It is also clear that one of the Scrolls, 1QS, speaks of punishment after death. Yet it would be strange if there had not been some development in the concept of life after death. This was the apocalyptic age, the time of great persecution and suffering, and men sooner or later must see the truth that wickedness would someday reap its reward, even if it had to be after death. The author of 1QS made the first move in that direction, though of course Isaiah and Daniel had given him precedent.

Thus the Qumran Scrolls stand apart from the general stream of the contemporary literature. They had above all the spirit of Amos, "Let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like an everflowing stream" (5:24). But perhaps in that lies one of their greatest contributions to us in the twentieth century. They did not speculate greatly on the details of the final days.³ They spoke of them with vividness and finality, of course, but no more so than did the Hebrew

3. Cf. the observation of H. Bardtke in appendix A, p. 22, note 47.

of the Old Testament. Rather they were concerned primarily with being ready to meet God, with living their lives here and now in complete devotion to Him. They sought for maturity and perfection in their faith. And in our age, when churches are full, but hearts are empty, the message of the men of Qumran has distinctive force---God demands an inner righteousness!

So in the concern over details it is often easy to overlook the motivating forces which lie behind them. Perhaps then in conclusion it is well to stand up and take another look at that little community beside the Dead Sea. When we do the men of Qumran appear not merely as a group of pious Jews laboring over manuscripts and performing ablutions, but rather as men driven by a sense of urgent mission. The night was far spent. The kingdom was at hand. Hardship, suffering, frustration were theirs, but these were things to be endured gladly, for out of them they would emerge as better men, men fit for the kingdom. They sought no permanent abode on the shores of the Dead Sea; they looked for the city which was to come.

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Note: Two years ago J. Coppens wrote, "En ce moment, le nombre de livres ou articles consacrés à la découverte s'élève à presque un millier, et le flot de publications n'est pas près de se tarir" ("Où en est le problème des Manuscrits de Qumrân?", NC VI, 1954, p.247). In the time that has elapsed since that statement was made there has been no diminishing of the flood. Therefore it would not be practical for the purpose of this thesis to attempt an exhaustive bibliography of the Qumran literature. Rather the list presented here is selective. Basically it covers only the area defined by the title of the thesis. Other works are included either because reference is made to them in the body of the thesis, or because they provide background for the problem at hand.

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APPENDIX A

THE NEW COVENANT

One of the important facts that emerges from a reading of the Scrolls is that the sect of Qumran believed itself to be living under a special kind of covenant. The most conspicuous of the terms which describe this charter is the "new covenant".

In the same manner as their fellows who returned with the men of scoffing they shall be judged, for they spoke error against the righteous commandments and rejected the firm covenant which they established in the land of Damascus, which is the new covenant. (CD 20:10-12; cf. 6:18,19; 8:21; 19:33,34)

Though this phrase occurs only in CD there are other terms used to describe the covenant relationship of the sect.

Over them I shall pour wrath as water, for they entered into a covenant of repentance, but did not forsake the way of the faithless. (CD 19:16,17)

They shall muster him with the oath of the covenant which Moses made with Israel, that is, the covenant to (return to) the Law of Moses. (CD 15:8,9)

All who dedicate themselves to do God's ordinances shall be brought into a covenant of mercy. (1QS 1:7,8)

For God has chosen them (the righteous) for an eternal covenant, so that theirs is all the glory of Adam. (1QS 4:22,23; cf. 5:6)

Many questions arise as one reads these passages. Did the sect believe that they had received the "new covenant" promised by God in Jeremiah 31? Was this covenant distinct from the Mosaic charter, or was it only a renewal and return to

the original precepts? What were the conditions of this covenant? The thesis of this discussion is that the term "new covenant" embraces the two-fold aspect of a return to the Law of Moses and the provision for atonement apart from physical sacrifice.

A. Renewed Vows

Whenever the phrase "new covenant" occurs it is always accompanied by "in the land of Damascus". This is proper, for we know that it was there that the covenant was first established. Disheartened by immorality in Jerusalem and belabored by persecution a group of pious Jews had departed from the land of Judah. They are called a "house of division" who went out from the holy city when Israel made the sanctuary unclean (CD 20:22,23). They were led by the Teacher of Righteousness. They left behind a people who had disdained God's ways, who had rejected the old commandments, who had defiled the sanctuary. So they vowed to return to God's laws. They entered into a "new covenant", a new agreement to follow the will of God.

There are only three places where the phrase "new covenant" actually occurs, and these are all in CD.¹ Let us

1. Cf. also 1QSB 5:21, "the covenant of the community He will renew for him (the Messiah)"; Jubilees 11:15, "may He renew His covenant with you".

examine these first.

1. New Covenant

And all who have been brought into the covenant not to come into the sanctuary to kindle fire on His altar in vain shall become those who shut the door, as God said, Who among you will shut his door, so that you will not kindle fire on My altar in vain?--unless they observe to do according to the explanation of the Law for the period of wickedness; and to separate from the sons of the pit; and to keep away from the unclean wealth of wickedness acquired by vowing and devoting and by appropriating the wealth of the sanctuary; and not to rob the poor of His people, so that widows become their spoil, and they murder the fatherless; and to make a separation between the unclean and the clean, and to make men know the difference between the holy and the common; and to keep the Sabbath day according to its explanation, and the festivals and the day of the fast, according to the decision of those who entered the new covenant in the land of Damascus. (6:12-19)²

Here we see quite clearly the fact that "new covenant" means a "renewed covenant".³ The admonition in verso 14 is "to do according to the explanation of the Law for the period of wickedness". Following this is a detailed list of rules for

2. Reading according to M. Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 354:

3. 1QS 2:19ff. (cf. CD 14:3ff.) shows that the "entering" or "passing" into the "new covenant" was an annually renewed ceremony. To "enter the covenant" is not new. Deut. 29:11 uses the same phrase for the Mosaic covenant; cf. Neh. 9, 10 for further background. A Rabbinic tradition relates the story of a covenant of faithfulness made between God and Israel. It says that this covenant, initiated on Mt. Sinai, was made a second time in the desert of Moab by Moses, and a third time by Joshua after the entrance into the promised land on the mountains of Gerizim and Ebal. This is parallel to the renewal of the "new covenant" in CD. Cf. L. Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, III, pp. 88, 89; VI, p. 34, note 195.

conduct. They had returned to the Law, they began to study it day and night (1QS 6:6,7), and the various halakhoth outlined in the passage are the result of their labors.

And the men that have entered the new covenant in the land of Damascus, and have acted faithlessly again, and have forsaken the well of the living water shall not be reckoned with the gathering of the people, and in their writing they shall not be written, from the day the unique teacher was gathered in until a Messiah from Aaron and from Israel shall arise. (19:33-20:1)⁴

The reference in this passage is to those members who had backslidden, forsaking "the well of the living water". This "well" is interpreted in CD 6:4 as being the "Law". In the context of 6:2-11 we read of the righteous Jews who left Jerusalem for Damascus and there "dug the well" (6:3), and began to live by "the ordinances which the Lawgiver ordained to walk in during the whole period of wickedness" (6:9,10; cf. 3:16). This is the "new covenant", a return to the Torah.

In the same manner as their fellows who returned with the men of scoffing they shall be judged, for they spoke error against the righteous ordinances and rejected the firm covenant which they established in the land of Damascus, which is the new covenant; and they and their families shall have no share in the house of the Law. (20:10-13)

The scoffers spoke error against "the righteous ordinances" and despised the "new covenant". These mockers, in other words, denied the validity of the Law-interpretations of the sect. The implication is that while Israel as a whole was

4. Cf. the parallel passage in CD 8:21.

pretending to follow the Torah, the sect knew that God was not really being served, and so they had returned to what they felt was the true essence of God's will. They called themselves the "house of the Law", and felt that only they would be the recipients of the covenantal promises of God. This is the idea inherent in the use of "covenant" elsewhere.

2. Covenant of God

Through (stubbornness of heart) the first members of the covenant became guilty, and they were delivered to the sword, because they forsook the covenant of God. (CD 3:10,11)⁵

The singular "covenant" here embraces in one word the demands of God on Israel for faithful living through the years. This "covenant" is explained in the preceding context (1-3) where the author describes, aside from the founding of the sect, the history of Israel under the old covenant. He tells how from the very beginning, "from old times even until now" (CD 2:17), through the desire of their eyes and through the stubbornness of their hearts men disobeyed God and were destroyed. The historical allusions take us back to the sixth chapter of Genesis.

Mighty men of valor stumbled . . . the watchers of heaven fell . . . as well as their sons whose height was

5. Cf. CD 5:18; 7:5,6; 20:17,18; 10:10; 13:14; 1QS 5:7-9; 1QH 2:22,28; 4:19,24; 7:7,10,20; 16:7; 18:9,24,28; 1QM 10:10; 12:3; 14:4,10; 17:8.

like the tallness of cedars and whose corpses were like mountains when they fell, all flesh that was on dry land when they died. (GD 2:17-20)

This is probably an allusion to the "sons of God" in Genesis 6, who are described as "mighty men that were of old, the men of renown" (6:4). Tradition has it that these "sons of God" were angels who came down from heaven and married the "daughters of men".⁶ This would agree with their description here as "the watchers of heaven" (cf. I Enoch 91:15; Dan. 4:13ff.). Their sons are said to have perished "on the dry land", a reference to Genesis 7:22, "everything on the dry land in whose nostrils was the breath of life died".

The historical account continues with a description of how the sons of Noah were cut off because of disobedience, how Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob remained faithful and were called "friends of God and possessors of the covenant for eternity" (3:3,4), how the sons of Jacob and their sons in Egypt went astray and were destroyed. Of the latter it is said that "they ate blood, and their males were cut off in the desert" (3:6,7). This points back to the commandment of God to Noah in Genesis 9:4,5, "only you shall not eat flesh with its life, that is, its blood. For your lifeblood I will surely require a reckoning".

6. Cf. L.Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, I, pp.124-127.

All of these were "the first members of the covenant", the ones who were destroyed because "they forsook the covenant of God" (3:10,11). This is the old covenant that the sect had renewed. But when the author is writing about the old covenant he is not indicating the individual covenants. He is only speaking of one great covenant that embraced all the blessings and curses of these individual covenants. It is the n'ri of CD 2:2, and the n'ri of CD 1:4. It is the "covenant" of faithfulness to God, the charter that if the people of Israel would be obedient to God, He would abundantly bless them. It is the Noahic covenant of not eating "flesh with its life, that is, its blood" (Gen. 9:4,5), the Abrahamic charter of circumcision (Gen. 17:14), the Mosaic command to "walk in all the way which the Lord your God has commanded you, that you may live and that it may go well with you, and that you may live long in the land which you shall bless" (Deut. 5:33), and the Davidic promise that "when he commits iniquity I will chasten him with the rods of men, with the stripes of the sons of men, but My steadfast-love shall not depart from him, as I took it from Saul" (II Sam. 7:14,15). The author is emphasizing that God demands faithfulness in return for blessing.

It is important to stress at this point that the sect

considered themselves to be under the same covenant. They did not believe that the old covenant was abrogated when they received the "new". They were still to receive the blessings promised to the forefathers. They were still to remain faithful to God. This is the impact of the command to the sect in 1QS 5:4,5, "no one shall walk in the stubbornness of his heart to go astray after his own heart, and his own eyes and his own impulsive desire". In CD 3:10-12 the reason is given that the forefathers fell because "they forsook the covenant of God and chose their own desire and went after the stubbornness of their hearts by doing each man his own desire". The old covenant was still binding on the sect, for the author goes on, including the Qumran people in the same covenant as the "former members", by saying, "but with them that held fast to the commandments of God, who were left over of them, God established His covenant with Israel even unto eternity, by revealing to them hidden things". This is still the old covenant of faithfulness to the Law. The historical events in 3:12-17 concern the beginnings of the sect in Jerusalem and the flight to Damascus under the leadership of the Teacher of Righteousness. The author claims that only the sect stayed faithful to God, and therefore God revealed Himself to them. "Hidden things concerning which Israel had gone astray" (3:14) is clearly what is taught in CD 1:13-3:12 and 1QS 1:21-2:18. "His holy

sabbaths" (3:14) is found in CD 10:14-11:18. "His glorious appointed times" (3:14) is the content of such as CD 16:2-4 and 1QS 9:12ff. "They dug a well for much water" (3:16) refers to the diligent study and practice of the Torah. This was the very basis of the sect.

So we have seen that they did not make a complete break with the past. The sect of Qumran had returned to a faithful obedience to the Law. They had renewed their allegiance to God.⁷

3. Covenant of Steadfast-Love

All who dedicate themselves to do God's ordinances shall be brought into a covenant of steadfast-love 7DN n'72) to become a community in the counsel of God. (1QS 1:7,8; cf. CD 7:6; 1QHfreg 7:7)

Here the passage undoubtedly concerns a return to the Torah for it is a dedication "to do God's ordinances". The covenant is called 7DN n'72, a description taken from the Old Testament. So Daniel 9:4ff. reads, "O Lord, the great and terrible God, who keepest covenant and steadfast-love with those who love Him and keep His commandments".⁸ The author promises God's blessing on all who are faithful to Him.

7. Cf. A. Dupont-Sommer, The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes, p.62, "whether we speak of the Covenant or the New Covenant, it refers in any event to a Covenant renewed, an everlasting and final Covenant, the only Covenant which God henceforth accepts".

8. Cf. Ex. 20:6; Deut. 7:9ff.; Joel 2:13; Micah 7:18.

Those who are obedient to God's commands can rely on God's steadfast-love all their days. This idea is further emphasized by the accompanying phrase, 'לְהַלְכוֹת בְּאֵפְרַיִם'. Those who are under the direction or counsel of God, who are following His precepts, can trust in His faithfulness and love.

4. Covenant of Abraham

And He knows . . . that which will happen in the periods of all the years of the world, and in all of them He raised for Himself the ones called by the name in order to leave a remnant for the land, and to fill the face of the world with their seed. And He made known to them by the hand of those who were anointed with His Holy Spirit, and the seers of His truth, the details of their names, but those whom He hated He caused to wander. (CD 2:9-13)

In a passage strikingly reminiscent of the Abraham story in Genesis 15 and 17, the author claims a sort of "apostolic succession" for the sect. They were standing in the line of the people of God who had preceded them through the years. Israel may have disobeyed God time and time again, but He had always preserved for Himself a prepared people. There had been Abraham, Joseph, Moses, David, the "seven thousand who have not bowed the knee to Baal", and many others. Now in these days Israel had wandered, but still the pious remnant remains, the "ones called by the name", the sect of Qumran.⁹

9. God says in Isaiah 43:7 that one day He will restore the people of Israel to their land, "everyone who is called by My name" (cf. Ezek. 39:25; Zech. 13:9). Here is a background for the phrases "ones called by the name" (CD 2:11; 4:4; 1QSa 2:2), and "those who have taken refuge in His holy name" (CD 20:34).

It appears that the author is using the account of the promise of God to Abraham as the proof-text for the sect's own future.¹⁰ He is claiming that only the faithful remnant will receive God's blessing. In the promise to Abraham in Genesis 15:5 God says, "Look toward heaven and number the stars, if you are able to number them. Then He said to him, So shall your descendants be". In Genesis 17:2-8 God promises Abraham,

I will establish My covenant between Me and you and your descendants after you throughout their generations for an everlasting covenant to be God to you and to your descendants after you.

Turning back to CD 2:11-13 we find that the author echoes the promise of numerous seed by the reference to the fact that in every period of man's existence God has raised a remnant in order to "fill the face of the universe with their seed". But the emphasis is that only the seed of the remnant, only the physical and spiritual seed of Abraham are to be the recipients of God's blessing and protection.

There are three textual problems here which should be noticed. The Hebrew of 2:12,13 reads, וַיִּרְדֵּם בֵּי יָד מַשִּׁיחַ וְרָחַם וַיִּרְדֵּם בֵּי יָד מַשִּׁיחַ וְרָחַם (?) וְרָחַם וְרָחַם. The difficulties are the reading of (1) מַשִּׁיחַ, (2) וְרָחַם (?), and (3) וְרָחַם וְרָחַם וְרָחַם.

¹⁰. CD 12:11 speaks expressly of the "covenant of Abraham", and is a reference to the rite of circumcision.

(1) The problem in מִיָּדוֹ concerns the reading of the suffix---is it to be read מִיָּדוֹ or מִיָּדוֹ (defective for מִיָּדוֹ)? If the noun is in the singular, various interpretations are given. I.Lévi suggested that it refers to Enoch, who revealed the future, or to Moses, who received from an angel the revelations which form the book of Jubilees.¹¹ M.-J.Lagrange said that it refers to the founder of the sect who was a high priest, and therefore an "anointed one".¹² R.H.Charles applied it to the coming Messiah (reading מִיָּדוֹ as future), although he admitted that it may simply mean "Zadok".¹³ S.Schechter read "through His Anointed (the Messiah) He shall make them know", understanding the phrase as a reference to the Teacher of Righteousness redivivus.¹⁴ J.L.Teicher understands it as a reference

11. I.Lévi, "Un écrit sadducéen antérieur à la destruction du Temple", REJ LXI, 1911, p.175, note 11.

12. M.-J.Lagrange, "La secte juive de la nouvelle alliance au pays de Damas", RB IX (XXI), 1912, p.217, note 1.

13. R.H.Charles, Fragments of a Zadokite Work, p.6, note 10; cf. also W.H.Brownlee, BASOR SS 10-12, p.50; "John the Baptist in the New Light of Ancient Scrolls", Interpretation IX, 1955, p.82; K.Schubert, "Bemerkungen zum Verständnis einiger Termini in den Handschriften von En Fesha und im Damaskusdokument", ThLZ LXXVII, 1952, cols.333,334; J.Schousboe, La secte juive de l'Alliance Nouvelle au pays de Damas et le Christianisme naissant, p.38.

14. S.Schechter, Fragments of a Zadokite Work, p.xxxiii, note 21.

to Jesus as the "Christ".¹⁵ Leszynsky,¹⁶ L.Ginzberg,¹⁷ and Stärk¹⁸ amend it to the plural לְנָבִיאִים, while Ch.Rabin¹⁹ and P.Wernberg-Møller²⁰ read it as the plural with the 3rd person suffix written defectively. The reference then would be to the prophets.

To understand לְנָבִיאִים as referring to the Messiah does violence to the context. The passage speaks of revelation given to the remnant of all ages, not just to the final one. This is emphasized by the last phrase, "those whom He hated He caused to wander", a manifest reference to past events.

The key to the problem lies in three factors. The first concerns the fact that the authors of the Scrolls sometimes used defective suffixes.

The interpretation of the word is that God will not completely destroy His people by the hand of the nations, but into the hand of לְנָבִיאִים God will give the

15. J.L.Teicher, "Puzzling Passages in the Damascus Fragments", JJS V, 1954, p.139.

16. Leszynsky, "Observations sur les 'Fragments of a Zadokite Work' éditées par Schechter", REJ LXII, 1911, p.192.

17. L.Ginzberg, Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte, I, p.11.

18. Stärk, as quoted by L.Rost, Die Damaskusschrift, p.9.

19. Ch.Rabin, The Zadokite Documents, p.8, note 12.4.

20. P.Wernberg-Møller, "Some Passages in the 'Zadokite' Fragments and their Parallels in the Manual of Discipline", JSS I, 1956, pp.116-118.

judgment of all the nations. (1QpHab 5:3,4)

Its interpretation concerns the wicked priest whom, for an offence against the Teacher of Righteousness and the men of his council, God gave into the hand of his enemies to abuse with smiting that he might be consumed with bitterness of soul, because he had done evil against וְיָהוֹיָכָן. (1QpHab 9:9-12)

In order that they might come to the judgment of fire because they reviled and outraged the אֱלֹהֵינוּ. (1QpHab 10:12,13)

And the sons of Zadok are בְּנֵי זָדוֹק, the ones called by the name, the ones arising in the last days. (CD 4:3,4)

Are we to understand the word "chosen" (בְּחֻרָה) as singular in one place and as plural in another? 1QpHab 5:3,4 speaks of judgment at the hand of His "chosen" (בְּחֻרָה).²² We know from 1QS 8:6,7 that the whole sect expected to be God's agents in vengeance on the wicked. Yet in 1QpHab 5 the word "chosen" appears to be in the singular. 1QpHab 9:9-12 speaks of judgment coming to the wicked priest because of something he had done to the Teacher of Righteousness and the men of his council, in other words, to a group of people. The word in the text however again appears to be a singular. Yet when בְּחֻרָה occurs with a nomen rectum in the last two examples

22. A. Dupont-Sommer, "Le 'Commentaire d'Habacuc' découvert près de la Mer Morte: Traduction et notes", RHR CXXXVII, 1950, p.157, says, "C'est l'Élu de Dieu, c'est-à-dire le Maître de justice, qui, par délégation de Dieu, exercera les fonctions de juge lors du Jugement final". In other words, "l'Élu" is the Messiah or the Teacher of Righteousness resurrected. Cf. also M. Delcor, "Le Midrash d'Habacuc", RB LVIII, 1951, p.536.

quoted above, it is clearly a plural. The solution is that the author or scribe employed a defective suffix, as he does other places, and the plural "chosen ones" should be read throughout the passages in 1QpHab.²³

The second factor is found in certain parallel readings in CD, 1QM, and 1QS.

To do what is good and right before Him as He commanded through Moses and through all His servants the prophets. (1QS 1:2,3)

That (means) studying the Torah which He commanded by the hand of Moses, so as to do according to all that was revealed from time to time, and according to that which the prophets revealed by His Holy Spirit. (1QS 8:15,16)

And the land became desolate for they spoke rebellion against the commandments (given) by the hand of Moses and also וְיִפְּתוּ בְּיָדָם, and prophesied falsehood, so as to cause Israel to turn away from following God. (CD 5:21-6:1)²⁴

By the hand of Thy anointed ones, the seers of ordained things Thou hast declared to us the times of the wars of Thy hands in order to fight (in the margin: to be glorified) against our enemies, in order to bring down the troops of Belial. (1QM 11:7,8)

In the first two passages it is clear that there are two

23. CD 2:7 implies that all the righteous are God's "chosen"; cf. Isa. 65:9; also the defective יָמָיו, "his days" (CD 10:9); יָמָיו (1QSa 1:17); יָמָיו (1QSa 1:18,22; 1QS 6:17); יָמָיו (1QpHab 3:6); יָמָיו (1QpHab 8:5); יָמָיו (1QpHab 8:7).

24. CD 7:15-18 speaks of two pieces of literature---the Law and the Prophets. Against the teaching of the latter (and the first as well) the author claims the people rebelled. So the "Law" and the "Prophets" would point to the two-fold division of commandments shown in the passages above, that is, Moses and יָמָיו; cf. also I Enoch 108:6; 1QpHab 2:9; 7:5.

groups---Moses and the prophets. There is also the same connection between the Holy Spirit and וְנָבִיא in 2:12, as there is between the Holy Spirit and the prophets in 1QS 8:15,16. In the third passage the wording is strikingly similar to the former two, and refers to the commandments of Moses and וְנָבִיא. Are we then to understand וְנָבִיא as a defective plural referring to the "prophets"? There is, of course, a textual difficulty, for וְנָבִיא וְנָבִיא, though bearing a resemblance to CD 2:12, is grammatically incorrect.²⁵ Ch.Rabin emends it to read וְנָבִיא וְנָבִיא.²⁶ A.M.Habermann reads וְנָבִיא וְנָבִיא.²⁷ I.Rabinowitz emends to וְנָבִיא וְנָבִיא,²⁸ while S.Schechter²⁹ and L.Ginzberg³⁰ emend it to וְנָבִיא וְנָבִיא. E.Meyer would delete וְנָבִיא,³¹ with

25. However K.Schubert, op. cit., col.333, reads it as it stands, "Seinen heiligen Messias"; so also J.Jeremias, "חל(ה)אס" TWzNT, II, p.934 ("heiligen Gesalbten") who identifies the figure with Aaron, as does I.Lévi, op. cit., p.182, note 17; M.-J. Lagrange, op. cit., p.222, note 6, sees a reference to Zadok.

26. Ch.Rabin, op. cit., p.21.

27. A.M.Habermann, 'Edah we-Eduth', p.101 (as quoted by N.Wieder, "The 'Law-Interpreter' of the Sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Moses", JJS IV, 1953, p.168, note 2).

28. I.Rabinowitz, "A Reconsideration of 'Damascus' and '390 Years' in the 'Damascus' ('Zadokite') Fragments", JBL LXXIII, 1954, p.20.

29. S.Schechter, op. cit., p.xxxvii.

30. L.Ginzberg, op. cit., p.38.

31. E.Meyer; cf. L.Rost, op. cit., p.14.

F.F.Hvidberg³² and R.H.Charles³³ omitting W^{777} as well.

What is the solution?³⁴ In any case the passage may not be read, "for they spoke rebellion against the commandments of God (given) by the hand of Moses and also against his holy anointed one (referring either to Aaron or the Teacher of Righteousness)". Although both sometimes has the meaning of "against", one would expect b^{7} for that meaning here since it is already used.

One could say that since the text is evidently written in bad Hebrew elsewhere we must suppose a simple grammatical error, and emend, as some have done, from W^{777} , "holiness", to W^{77} , "holy".³⁵ This would then read, "His Messiah, the Holy One". Though this is a possible solution we must consider the entire context of the sect's teaching. It has been shown that m^{777} in this passage (CD 5:21-6:1) seems to refer to the prophets, because of similar phrases elsewhere in the documents. We know that $\text{W}^{\text{777}} \text{m}^{\text{777}}$ is grammatically incorrect. We have noticed that the author or

32. F.F.Hvidberg; cf. L.Rost, op. cit., p.14.

33. R.H.Charles, op. cit., p.14.

34. In the photographic facsimiles the waw on m^{777} is marred, however it does not seem to be a deliberate obscuring.

35. Cf. S.Zeitlin, "The Zadokite Fragments", JQR Monograph Series no. 1, 1952, p.7.

scribe is a poor grammarian, and that he employs defective suffixes at times. Therefore we must determine what he meant to say, even though he did not express it in the best Hebrew. So taking all these things into consideration we must emend וְיָדָהּ בְּיָדָהּ to read (with Rabinowitz) בְּיָדָהּ וְיָדָהּ, "by (the hand of) the anointed ones of the holiness", that is, "by the holy anointed ones".³⁶ This is made certain by the passage from 1QM 11 where the prophets are called "Thy anointed ones" (בְּיָדָהּ).

It is to be noted that there is a gap between בְּיָדָהּ and וְיָדָהּ in the original text. P.Wernberg-Möller, following the emendation to בְּיָדָהּ, suggests that the gap should be filled with וְיָדָהּ because of the parallel in CD 2:12, and reads, "those who were anointed with the Holy Spirit".³⁷ This is a possibility, but the gap does not necessarily mean that the two words should be separated. The author does this sort of thing continually, as for example in CD 6:4.

The third factor concerns an interesting parallel in Psalms 105:15 to the problem here, where בְּיָדָהּ is placed in

36. Cf. Isa. 27:13; Jer. 31:23; Zech. 8:3 for a similar construction. For prophets anointed with the Holy Spirit, cf. Isa. 61:1; II Chron. 20:14; etc.

37. P.Wernberg-Möller, op. cit., pp.116,117.

parallel with 'א'לל. The passage reads, "Touch not My anointed ones, do My prophets no harm".

There can be no doubt therefore as to the reading of 'לל' in CD 2:12. The word must be read with a defective 3rd person suffix, and the phrase understood as a reference to the prophets. The following phrase, 'לל' 'לל, is not then the object of 'לל' 'לל, but the nomen rectum of 'לל' 'לל. The passage would therefore be translated, "and He made known to them by the hand of those who were anointed with His Holy Spirit". What the author of CD is trying to teach is that through the years many Israelites had turned from following God, yet in each "period" God had raised a faithful remnant. It was to each of these remnants that God had spoken through His prophets. This indeed is what Nehemiah 9:30 says, "Many years Thou didst bear with them, and didst warn them by the Spirit through Thy prophets; yet they would not give ear. Therefore Thou didst give them into the hand of the peoples of the lands".

(2) The second problem has to do with (?)'לל. The original text is mutilated, and it is difficult to read the ending. All of the commentators until recently have taken the word as 'לל, translating "and He is true". But the second letter is clearly heth and not he, and the last letter cannot be read as an aleph. P.Wernberg-Möller reads it as

7177=7177, partly because of a loose parallel with 1QS 3:7.³⁸ Ch.Rabin, in his edition of CD, reads it as 7177, translating "shew them truth".³⁹ However in a later article Rabin corrects this to 7177, "seers of His truth", taking the waw of 717777 with the preceding word.⁴⁰ This he bases on the passage in 1QM (11:7,8; quoted above) which reads 71777777 71777777, "by the hand of Thy anointed ones, the seers of ordained things".⁴¹ The parallel from 1QM clearly shows that Rabin's suggested reading is correct.

(3) The final difficulty involves the reading of 71777777 71777777. S.Schechter claimed that the parallel offered by CD 4:4,5, 71777777 71777777 made it certain that 71777777 is dittography, and so read (changing 71777777 to 717777), "and the explanation of their names".⁴² I.Lévi would also omit 71777777, explaining the passage as a statement that the history of the priest is a true account.⁴³ M.-J.Lagrange retains 71777777, reading it as a noun, and writes, "la secte

38. P.Wernberg-Møller, op. cit., pp.117,118.

39. Ch.Rabin, op. cit., p.9.

40. Ch.Rabin, "On a Puzzling Passage in the Damascus Fragments", JJS VI, 1955, pp.53,54.

41. This had originally been suggested by Y.Yadin in his edition of the War Scroll, pp.323,324, note 7-8.

42. S.Schechter, op. cit., p.xxxiii.

43. I.Lévi, op. cit., p.176, note 1.

portent le nom de son fondateur qui est ici nommé Oint".⁴⁴
 R.H.Charles,⁴⁵ translating "in the interpretation of his
 name is their names", refers the phrase to the name of the
 sect. They would be called מִן־שְׁמֵי־מִשְׁכָּן as the Messiah is מִשְׁכָּן.
 L.Ginzberg and Ch.Rabin emend to מִן, pointing out that the
 phrase is not Biblical, but Talmudic (cf. bBer. 7b).⁴⁶

It must be noticed that מִן־שְׁמֵי־מִשְׁכָּן is best understood as having
 the idea of "setting out in order" or "giving details". The
 word occurs in CD 4:4-6 in a similar construction, and there
 it does not refer to interpretation, but rather to elucidating
 or setting down the details of names. The text reads מִן־שְׁמֵי־מִשְׁכָּן
 מִן־שְׁמֵי־מִשְׁכָּן (cf. 14:17,18). Notice also LQM 4:6, לְכָל־מִן־שְׁמֵי־מִשְׁכָּן
 מִן־שְׁמֵי־מִשְׁכָּן מִן־שְׁמֵי־מִשְׁכָּן, "and after them the whole order of the details
 of their names" (cf. also LQM 4:7,8,11-13). It appears from
 these occurrences in CD and LQM that Schechter's suggestion
 of a dittography is correct. The author is saying that the
 "seers of His truth", the prophets, had throughout the years
 illustrated the basis for fellowship with God. It is, in
 other words, a reference to the historical accounts of Israel
 in which are "set out in order" the names of God's faithful

44. M.-J.Lagrangé, op. cit., p.217, note 1; cf. also W.H.
 Brownlee, BASOR SS 10-12, p.50; J.L.Teicher, op. cit., p.139.

45. R.H.Charles, op. cit., p.6; cf. also M.Burrows, The
Dead Sea Scrolls, p.350.

46. L.Ginzberg, op. cit., p.13; Ch.Rabin, op. cit.,
 pp.8,9.

people.

5. Covenant to Return to the Law of Moses

And this is the ruling during the whole epoch of wickedness with regard to everyone who turns from his corrupt way. On the day that he speaks to the supervisor of the Many, they shall muster him with the oath of the covenant which Moses concluded with Israel, that is the covenant to return to the Law of Moses with all (one's) heart and with all (one's) soul. (CD 15:6-10)⁴⁷

The Scrolls abound in the language of the prophets, and here is echoed one of their familiar cries. "Return to Me, says the Lord of hosts, and I will return to you, says the Lord of hosts" (Zech. 1:3; cf. Hosea 6:1; Mal. 3:7). Ezekiel 18:21 states, "If a wicked man turns away from all his sins which he has committed and keeps all My statutes and does what is lawful and right, he shall surely live and not die". Jeremiah 17:19-27 declares God's promise that if the Sabbath is kept holy according to all His ordinances, then "there shall enter by the gates of this city kings and princes who sit on the throne of David . . . they and their princes, the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem; and this city shall be inhabited forever". Ezekiel 20 tells of God wanting His

47. Cf. CD 16:1,4,5; 1QS 1:2,3,16,17; 5:7-9; 1QH 17:12 ("Thou hast spoken by the hand of Moses"); 6:10 ("to possess אין"). Concerning these passages from 1QH, H. Bardtke, "Considérations sur les cantiques de Qumran", RB LXIII, 1956, p.224, writes, "Mais ces deux textes isolés (in 1QH) montrent précisément que l'intérêt de l'auteur se porte manifestement vers la figure de Moïse et de Loi divine reçue par son intermédiaire, non vers les événements particuliers de l'histoire du salut".

people to obey His precepts, but that they rebelled and so lost the blessing. All this is the background of the phrase, "return to the Law of Moses". When a new member entered the sect he took the vow to turn away from his iniquities and rebellion and to return to the strict and faithful observance of the Law of Moses, for only thus would God's blessing descend.

An interesting idea is suggested by CD 16:5. It says, "And on the day that a man imposes upon himself by oath to return to the Law of Moses, the angel Mastema will depart from behind him, if he carries out his words. For this reason Abraham was saved on the day when he acquired knowledge". Here it is clear that "knowledge" is not used in the intellectual sense of the word, nor is the abstract "gnosis" of Gnosticism in view. This is practical knowledge, instruction as to the way of life. As Bo Reicke says, "speaking of 'knowledge', the Manual of Discipline as well as the other scrolls are not interested in the immediate, spiritual illumination of man's soul, but in God's objective revelation of His will through the Covenant and the Holy Scriptures".⁴⁸ Abraham was "saved" when he learned to live a life of faithful obedience to God's will. So the author of

48. Bo Reicke, "Traces of Gnosticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls", NTS I, 1955, p.138.

CD says, men today will be saved from destruction when they gain the practical knowledge that life is found only in a return to the Law of Moses. Not philosophical, mind knowledge, but knowledge that does something. Here is found the Biblical, rather than the foreign tradition. H.W.Robinson states, "The Hebrew idea of 'Wisdom' was rather that of practical sagacity (Gen. xli.33, cf. I Kings iii.16ff) than of intellectual knowledge, and this practical quality continues throughout down to the characteristic appeal to 'experience' made by the Wisdom teachers".⁴⁹

The gaining of knowledge causes the angel Mastema to depart from a person (cf. 1QM 13:11; 1QS 3:23). Here we see the teaching expressed in 1QS 3:18ff. Man has a certain quantity of both good and evil, and there is a continual war between the two. Mastema, the angel of darkness, the one who controls the evil spirits, tries to bring men down to destruction. There is only one way to escape---by knowledge brought by the prince of lights, the angel of truth.

(The way of the spirit of truth is) to enlighten the heart of man, and to make straight before him all the ways of true righteousness, and to make his heart tremble with the judgments of God . . . according to the truth of the mysteries of knowledge. (1QS 4:2-6)

49. H.W.Robinson (ed.), The Bible in its Ancient and English Versions (Oxford: Clarendon, 1940), p.13.

When a man entered the "new covenant" and followed its laws and precepts he became sanctified, free from the taint of sin. Here we see the explanation of the recurring phrase that describes the members of the sect----"the perfect of way" (1QS 4:22; 8:10b; etc.). As long as they were walking in God's way they were perfect, the spirits of perversion were no longer harassing them, Mastema had departed from them.

6. Covenant of Repentance

Over them I shall pour wrath as water, for they entered into a covenant of repentance, but did not forsake the way of the faithless. (CD 19:16,17)

This covenant of repentance is seen in 1QS 1:16ff., where the ceremony for the yearly entering of the covenant is given. During part of the rite this confession is made by each person, "We have perverted ourselves, we have transgressed, we have sinned, we have done wickedly, both we and our fathers before us, because we have walked contrary to true ordinances, and God is righteous Who has executed His justice upon us and upon our fathers" (1:24-26).⁵⁰ Once again it is a reference to the curses and the blessings of the old covenant. They are "repenting" from having disobeyed in the past.

7. Covenant for all Israel

And every member of the covenant for all Israel shall let their sons who attain to pass among them that are mustered swear with an oath of the covenant. (CD 15:5,6; cf. 16:1)

50. Following the translation and reconstruction of W.H.Brownlee, BASOR SS 10-12, p.8.

The reference here seems to be again to a return to the ordinances of God, for further down in the passage the "oath of the covenant" is explained as the "covenant to return to the Law of Moses" (15:8,9). This is also the implication of 16:1ff. It is the covenant for "all Israel", not just for the sect.

8. Covenant of the Fathers

Thus is the case with those who turned from Israel; these turned aside from the way of the people, in God's love for the forefathers, who stirred up after Him. He loves them that come after them, for theirs is the covenant of the fathers. (CD 8:16-18)⁵¹

The whole context of this passage speaks of Moses and his commandments given to the "fathers" of the men of the sect. The sect was to gain the blessings promised long ago, because they had returned to God.

9. Curses of the Covenant

They raise up anger unto judgment and unto the exacting of vengeance through the curses of the covenant bringing upon themselves the great judgments unto an eternal destruction without remnant. (1QS 5:12,13; cf. 2:12,16; CD 1:17; 15:2)

The covenant with curses is indeed the old covenant. As the curses are enumerated the penalties attached to the breaking of the Mosaic code are clearly paralleled.

51. Cf. 1QM 13:7,8, "a covenant Thou hast made with our fathers, and Thou wilt establish (it) for their seed for the periods of eternity"; also 14:8.

10. Covenant of Faithfulness

There is a final passage which, though not specifically referring to a covenant, yet contains the elements of the old.

Its interpretation concerns all the doers of the Torah in the house of Judah whom God will deliver from the house of judgment because of their toil and their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness. (1QpHab 8:1-3)

A. Dupont-Sommer says, "The Teacher of Righteousness has become for his followers the essential object of faith; it is faith in him which causes one to live".⁵² He implies by this that there is a soteriological faith among the Qumran sect such as is found in the New Testament. This is not, however, the teaching of this passage. At the first of the passage these people are called "doers of the Law"; the emphasis is there. ~~UNION~~ is to be understood in the sense of "their trust" (so that they believe and act upon the words of the Teacher of Righteousness), or rather, "their faithfulness". The people had faith because they lived a life of strict obedience to the Law, as the Teacher had instructed them.⁵³ It is the same "faith" as in Habakkuk's "the just shall live by faith (faithfulness)" (2:4). In CD 7:5,6, after having given a

52. A. Dupont-Sommer, The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes, p.56; The Dead Sea Scrolls, p.44; "Quelques remarques sur le Commentaire d'Habacuc, à propos d'un livre récent", VT V, 1955, p.121.

53. Cf. C. Detaye, "Le cadre historique du Midrash d'Habacuc", ETL XXX, 1954, p.341, "La 'foi qui sauve' est l'observation de la loi et la confiance en la personne du Maître de Justice".

list of regulations for the members of the covenant, it says, "all they that walk in these in perfection of holiness according to all instructions, the covenant of God stands fast to them to preserve them for thousands of generations". In other words here is the covenant of the Law, salvation by obedience to the Law, and not salvation by faith in the Teacher of Righteousness.⁵⁴

There was a two-fold aspect to this return to the Law of Moses, and the passage quoted above emphasizes that fact. The sect's obedience to God's law rested in the interpretations of the Teacher of Righteousness. He was the "Searcher of the Law", the one who brought new understandings, new halakhoth. These formed the basis of the sect's life, and were the distinguishing characteristics of the group. This is pointed up in the previously quoted CD 6:9,10, "rules

54. Cf. K.Elliger, "Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer", BHT XV, 1953, p.196, "um ihrer Plage und ihrer Treue willen zu dem Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit". M.Burrows, op. cit., p.335, writes, "Three elements are more or less involved: fidelity to the Teacher of Righteousness, confidence in him, and a belief about him . . . Confident acceptance of his teaching and leadership is presupposed, and this implies also the belief that he knows by revelation the true meaning of prophecy. The same three elements are included also in what Paul means by faith in Christ, but the belief about Christ which he considers necessary for salvation goes much farther than anything that was believed about the Teacher of Righteousness. There is no indication in the Dead Sea Scrolls that the Teacher of Righteousness had himself accomplished a redemptive work in any way comparable to the saving work of Christ".

which the Lawgiver (Teacher of Righteousness) ordained to walk in during the whole period of wickedness". In other words, the various regulations found throughout the Scrolls are the Torah interpretations of the Teacher of Righteousness and his successors. So when a man had "faith" in the Teacher, he regulated his life according to these interpretations.

B. Provision for Atonement

The first aspect of the sect's life is clear. They had done what God had desired since the days of the going out from Egypt. They had repented of their unfaithfulness and returned to the Law of Moses. However for them the observance of physical sacrifice had ceased. This was the reason for the institution of the "new covenant" in its second phase. When the men of Qumran left Jerusalem they cut themselves off from the place of sacrifice and atonement. But the problem of sin and the need for forgiveness was still as acute as ever. What to do? God provided the answer.

With them that held fast to the commandments of God who were left over of them, God established His covenant with Israel even until eternity, by revealing to them hidden things concerning which all Israel had gone astray. His holy sabbaths and His glorious appointed times, His righteous testimonies and His true ways and the requirements of His desire, which man shall do and live thereby. (These) He laid open before them; and they dug a well for much water, and he that despises it shall not live. But they were defiling themselves with wickedness of man and ways of impurity, and they said, That is for us. But God in His wonderful mysteries forgave their iniquity and

pardoned their impurity, and He built them a sure house in Israel, the like of which has not stood from of old even until now. They that hold fast to it are for the life of eternity, and all the glory of Adam is theirs. (CD 3:12-20)

In lines 12-16 the members of the sect are described as being faithful to the Mosaic Law. They are termed "them that held fast to the commandments of God" (3:12). It also says that "they dug a well for much water" (3:16). We know from 6:2-11 that those who dug the well "are they that turned from (the wickedness) of Israel, who went out from the land of Judah and sojourned in the land of Damascus" (6:5). In other words, the righteous left Jerusalem and its corrupt Temple worship. But a difficulty arose: "they were defiling themselves with wickedness of man and ways of impurity" (3:17). The sect had separated themselves from sacrifice, but the need for atonement still remained. It is with this background in mind that the combination of "new covenant" and "in the land of Damascus" becomes important. The "new covenant" had something to do with the sect's separation from the Temple. It was concerned with atonement for sin apart from physical sacrifice. Lines 18-21 give us the facts---God built them a "sure house" (בית נאמן), another Temple, the sect of Qumran, the "purged, recovenanted, righteous Remnant".⁵⁵ The use of

55. The phrase is by I. Rabinowitz, op. cit., p.15, note 14.

the word "house" shows that it refers to a sanctuary or temple. God covenanted to forgive their sins apart from the sacrifice of bulls and goats.

Most commentators refer the phrase "sure house" to the priestly line of Zadok, as God said in I Samuel 2:35, "And I will raise up for Myself a faithful priest (יִזְכָּרְיָהּ), who shall do according to what is in My heart and in My mind; and I will build him a sure house (בֵּית יִזְכָּרְיָהּ) and he shall go in and out before My anointed forever". In a sense the above interpretation is correct, for this sect claimed to be the true "sons of Zadok". But this is not the full meaning, for the "sure house" was unique to the Qumran sect. Even the quotation from Ezekiel concerning the sons of Zadok (CD 3:21) is made to refer solely to the sect. Confirmation of this is seen in LQS 8:9,10a, "A most holy abode belongs to Aaron with eternal knowledge to enact laws, and to offer up an agreeable odor; and a house of perfection and truth is in Israel to establish a covenant with eternal ordinances". LQS 5:5,6 states the same thing, "But (God) is . . . to lay a foundation of truth for Israel for the community of eternal covenant to atone for all those who dedicate themselves for holiness in Aaron and for a house of truth in Israel". The "sure house in Israel" is thus the unique provision by God for the righteous remnant. It is the sect viewed as a

spiritual sanctuary where all who join have their sins forgiven. This is the implication of the phrase used to describe those who enter the sect---the ones "who dedicate themselves as free-will offerings to His truth" (יִנְחִיזוּ לְיְיָ; 1QS 1:11; cf. 5:6).⁵⁶

When the Temple became defiled so that sacrifice became an abomination to the Lord, He provided another sanctuary for the atonement of the faithful---the sect of Qumran.⁵⁷ What this meant was that all who entered it and offered themselves as sacrifices to God, and who walked in "perfection of way", obeying all God's commands, received pardon for sin. This is the teaching of 1QS 9:4,5.

When these things come to pass in Israel according to all these rules for an institution of a holy spirit, for eternal truth, for the making of atonement for the guilty rebellions and sinful infidelities and for favor for the land more than the flesh of whole burnt-offerings and the fats of sacrifice,

56. Cf. the discussion in chapter IV, pp.144-149; also 1QS 9:24 which Brownlee, BASOR SS 10-12, p.37, note 45, suggests translating as "everything done by (the wise man) He will accept as a free-will offering".

57. M.Delcor, "Le sacerdoce, les lieux de culte, les rites et les fêtes dans les documents de Qumrân", RHR CXLIV, 1953, pp.20-22, believes that the phrases "city of the sanctuary" (CD 12:1) and the "house of prostration" (CD 11:22) are references to the reunion site of the sect in one of the villages of Israel. When they broke from the Temple in Jerusalem, they chose a new place for the cult outside of Jerusalem. However in 1QpHab 12:7-9 this "city of the sanctuary" is explicitly mentioned in the discourse against the "wicked priest", and is quite definitely Jerusalem.

and the offering of the lips is accounted as a fragrant offering of righteousness and perfection of way as an acceptable free-will oblation.

We know that the sect practised certain baptismal rites. Careful regulations for the quantity and quality of bathing water are set down in CD 10:10-13. The ruins of the settlement at Qumran exhibit three large pools, two inside the walls and one outside, which were undoubtedly used for their lustrations. It appears then that when the sect was cut off from the Temple worship their baptismal rites took the place of sacrifice. Atonement was made, as John the Baptist proclaimed, through a "baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins" (Mk. 1:4). This is the teaching of the following passage.

Everyone who refuses to enter God's covenant that he may walk in the stubbornness of his heart shall not attain to His true community, for . . . he cannot be justified while giving freedom⁵⁸ to the stubbornness of his heart . . . he cannot purify himself by atonement, nor cleanse himself with the water for impurity;⁵⁹ he cannot sanctify himself with seas

58. נחמתי; Hiph. part. of נחם; M.Burrows, op. cit., p.373, translates "while giving free rein".

59. W.H.Brownlee, Interpretation IX, 1955, pp.75,76, links these lustrations with the sacrifice of the red heifer in Num. 19, and the sacrifice for the cleansing of a leper in Lev. 14. The red heifer was slain "outside the camp", and therefore the sacrifice was legitimately performed outside the Temple. The ashes of this heifer were used to prepare a purifying water for the removal of uncleanness. This water was called "water for impurity", and was intended for frequent use, as in 1QS (cf. 3:4). However certainly the link
(cont.)

and rivers, nor cleanse himself with any water for washing. Unclean, unclean he shall be all the days that he despises the ordinances of God, not being instructed in the community of His counsel. For it is through a spirit of true counsel for the ways of a man that all his iniquities will be atoned so that he may look at the light of life, and through a holy spirit disposed toward unity in His truth that he will be cleansed of all his iniquities, and through an upright and humble spirit that his sin will be atoned, and through the submission of his soul to all the ordinances of God that his flesh will be cleansed, so that he may purify himself with water for impurity, and sanctify himself with water of cleanness. And he will direct his steps so as to walk perfectly in all the ways of God, as He commanded for His appointed seasons, not turning aside to right or left, and not transgressing against one of all His words. Then he will be accepted through agreeable atonements before God; and this will be for him a covenant of eternal community. (1QS 2:26-3:12)

This lengthy passage is the only clear place in the Scrolls that combines the rite of baptism with atonement for sin. But it is important to notice that the author is quick to affirm that the rite alone does not possess a supernatural power to cleanse.⁶⁰ The sect had the spirit of Amos, "Let

60. J. Thomas, Le mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie (150 av. J.-C.---300 ap. J.-C.) (Gembloux: Duculot, 1935), p. 11 and note 2, points out that rites of purification by water were present in practically all ancient religions, including Judaism, but that baptismal practices "constituaient l'essence"; they were the distinctive characteristic of the sect. A. Dupont-Sommer, The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes, p. 99, attributes the rise in popularity of baptism during the period of the Scrolls to Iranian influence.

is in name only, for there is no sacrifice in 1QS, the red heifer was concerned primarily with the cleansing of one who had touched a dead body, and CD 10:10-15 shows that the purifying water was not specially made from the ashes of a sacrifice.

justice roll down like waters and righteousness like an everflowing stream" (5:24). The warning above is that all baptisms are ineffective unless a heart attitude is there as well. Thus later in LQS it says, "they will not be cleansed unless they have turned from their wickedness" (5:13,14). The emphasis was on the purifying of the spirit. Baptism, symbolizing the inner washing of the soul, had replaced sacrifice during the desert experience. Yet it was still merely a "mode", a symbol, just as sacrifice had been. The essence lay in the spiritual qualities of obedience and repentance. This, of course, had always been the basis of fellowship with God. Sacrifices, ablutions, all the external rituals were only concessions to the hardness of the heart. God Himself says in Jeremiah 7:21-26 that when the people of Israel came out of Egypt He gave no commandments regarding sacrifice, that all He wanted was obedience and faithfulness. Stephen points out in Acts 7:35ff. that the fathers refused Moses' leadership, and desired sacrifice and burnt offering just as they had seen in Egypt. The force of such facts in the history of Israel, and the sight of the sanctuary in Jerusalem becoming defiled with heathen practices, must have been the potent factors that caused the sect to break away from the Temple, and to cling only to the true essence of what God desired.

Now it is clear why the sect entered into a "new covenant" in Damascus. The title is undoubtedly borrowed from Jeremiah 31:31-33, "Behold the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah . . . I will put My law within them, and I will write it upon their hearts". The whole emphasis of the sect was on the heart attitude in serving God, the yielding of the spirit as well as the body. The full benefits of Jeremiah's "new covenant" they did not yet have. The Messianic kingdom had not yet arrived. But they took the name "new covenant" as the down-payment, the seal, of what they felt would soon be theirs. Perhaps the title also bore some reference to God's declaration to the Servant in Isaiah 49:8, "I have kept you and given you as a covenant to the people, to establish the land, to apportion the desolate heritages". The men of the community, by returning to God, by purging all wickedness from their lives, by offering themselves as living sacrifices to God, received the unique honor of becoming the sanctuary for all of Israel by which God's favor was to be procured for the land, and by which all the blessings of the Messianic kingdom would arrive.

One further question needs to be answered: In withdrawing from the Temple did the sect believe that sacrifice had been abrogated? The evidence of the Scrolls is somewhat confusing.

The Manual of Discipline makes no reference to the Temple or to sacrifice, for the emphasis is on spiritual worship. The sect itself is in reality the sanctuary. Prayer is called an "offering of the lips" (9:5).⁶¹ Scattered throughout CD there are regulations regarding sending offerings to the Temple. CD 6:20 says, "to set aside the holy offerings according to their exact rules". The wicked priesthood is denounced, but Temple worship is not prohibited. In fact the implication in CD 6:12-14 is that only the members of the sect could bring legitimate sacrifices. It says, "All who have been brought into the covenant not to come into the sanctuary to kindle fire on His altar in vain . . . unless they observe to do according to the explanation of the Law for the period of wickedness" (cf. 4:14-18; 5:6). The Habakkuk Commentary also condemns the priests for defiling the sanctuary, but the author implies by this that he still believed the altar was to be used. 1QSB clearly promises the restoration of the Temple and the legitimate priesthood. 1QM 2 describes the arrangements for guards at the "gates of the sanctuary" (2:3), and for "burnt-offerings", "sacrifices",

61. 1QS 3:11 says, "then will he procure pardon through agreeable atonements". This may refer to sacrifice, as 1QS was probably written after the return to Jerusalem (cf. appendix D), but in any case the author is stressing the fact, as in CD 6:12-14, that sacrifice is useless unless the offerer is doing it with a true heart.

and "inconse" (2:5). Later in column 3 we see that the righteous are in Jerusalem (3:11). Thus the expectation was for a return to Jerusalem, and the re-establishment of a pure Temple worship. The other Qumran texts are non-committal. It is in light of the teaching found in 1QSb and 1QM that the question of sacrifice is to be viewed. Sacrifice had not been abolished; it had only been temporarily suspended during the sect's absence from Jerusalem.

The Qumran sect originally separated themselves from the Temple worship and departed for the land of Damascus. While they were in that country they entered into the "new covenant". There is never any indication given that sacrifice was to be made in any place aside from the sanctuary in Jerusalem. In fact, as we saw, they substituted baptism for the altar. The emphasis was placed on the heart attitude. But this did not mean the abolishment of sacrifice altogether, just as it did not to the Old Testament prophets. There was no rejection of the sanctuary. They were probably living under an "interim ethic". The Temple was now defiled, but one day it would be cleansed, and they would return to its worship. If the sect became disappointed in the desert and went back to Jerusalem for a period of preaching, as the evidence seems to indicate, then it is quite likely that they returned to a nominal use of the Temple. This seems

to be the implication of CD 1-8 and 19-20, which were probably written after the desert sojourn.⁶² It may be that it was not a whole-hearted use of the sanctuary, but rather merely a temporary measure until the arising of the Messiah and its complete cleansing. CD 11:18-21 shows that prayer, in the opinion of the sect, was still preferable to impure sacrifice. They would have returned to sacrifice, but in the spirit of Paul, "I have become all things to all men that I might by all means save some" (I Cor. 9:21). Josephus tells us (Ant. 18:1:5), if the controversial o'uk is to be rejected, that though the Essenes sent votive offerings to the Temple, they practised a peculiar form of sacrifice (their lustrations probably) and were therefore excluded from the Temple precinct.⁶³ The sect then, retaining their rites

62. It is impossible to get any time sequence from CD 9-16. It is merely a rough collection of halachic statements, loosely arranged by subjects. It probably was written after the desert period, but that is not certain. The various references to sacrifice may be, as M. Burrows suggests (op. cit., p.238), survivals from the period before the separation from the Temple worship.

63. R. Marcus, "Pharisees, Essenes, and Gnostics", JBL LXXIII, 1954, p.158, claims that the view that the Essenes did not sacrifice rests on a misunderstanding of Philo (Quod Omnis Probus 75). There, Marcus claims, the Essenes are shown as enjoying a reputation for piety "because they have shown themselves especially devout in the service of God, not by offering sacrifices of animals, but by resolving to sanctify their minds". In other words, they sacrificed, but that was not the thing for which they were known. Cf. J.M. Baumgarten, "Sacrifice and Worship among the Jewish Sectarians of the Dead Sea (cont.)"

of baptism, nominally at least shared in the worship at the Temple. All this of course was brought to a violent halt in 70 A.D. However our texts do not take us past that point.

APPENDIX B

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SECT

The sect of Qumran was organized out of the priestly and lay elements in Israel. In other words, it embraced both aspects of Jewish life. However the former group took over the leadership of the community. This of course was not new in Israel. In post-exilic days the priest gained such importance that in Maccabean days he became the king as well. Let us see how far this movement toward priestly leadership enveloped the Qumran sect.

1.

'The priests and the Levites and the sons of Zadok' . . . the priests are they that turned from Israel, who went out from the land of Judah, and (the Levites) are they that joined themselves with them, and the sons of Zadok are the chosen of Israel, those called by the name, the ones standing in the last days. (CD 3:21-4:10)

Taking Ezekiel 44:15 the writer interprets it as referring

(Qumran Scrolls)", HTR XLVI, 1953, pp.141-157; M.Delcor, op. cit., p.592; J.Thomas, op. cit., pp.12-19. D.Wallace, The Assumption of Moses (Unpublished doctor's dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1955), appendix, re-examines the evidence and reaffirms the conclusion of Thomas that the oûk in Josephus should be retained.

to the sect of which he was a member. But he does a very ingenious, though perhaps typical, bit of Jewish midrashic interpretation. The MT reads קהנים וְלֵוִיִּים בְּנֵי זָדוֹק, the Levitical priests, the sons of Zadok". The text of CD reads קהנים וְלֵוִיִּים וְבְנֵי זָדוֹק, "the priests and the Levites and the sons of Zadok".¹ The writer makes a distinction between the three. In his interpretation of the verse we see how he shows that his sect has been foretold by prophecy. The "priests" refers to the pious ones who left Judah for Damascus;² the "Levites" are those who in later days joined them; the "sons of Zadok" refers to the sect as a whole, the "chosen of Israel", the ones who have arisen in the last days. They are the spiritual descendants of Zadok, the faithful high priest during the days of David and Solomon (cf. II Sam. 6:16; 15:1ff.).³ It is clear that קהנים וְלֵוִיִּים in CD 4:3 refers to the entire sect, and not just to the priestly class. It was in order to use the name in this way that the writer

1. This agrees partially with the reading in the Peshitta,

2. The phrase is שְׂבִי יִשְׂרָאֵל, a general designation for the sect; cf. CD 6:5; also שְׂבִי נַפְשִׁי (CD 2:5; 20:17; 1QS 10:20); שְׂבִי מִדְּבַר (4QpPsa. 37 II:1; J.M. Allegro, "A Newly-Discovered Fragment of a Commentary on Psalm XXXVII from Qumran", PEQ 1954, p.71.

3. The stress on the fact that the members are the "sons of Zadok" is perhaps related to Ezekiel's statements that only Zadok's descendants may serve in the New Jerusalem; cf. 40:46; 43:19; 44:15.

inserted the waw into the original Ezekiel passage. We know from CD 2:11 that "ones called by the name" refers to the entire remnant, not just to the priests. So it is to be noticed here that this passage does not necessarily claim that the sect went by the name "Sons of Zadok". The author is using midrashic interpretation, and as such then does not designate the group by the phrase that he is using, just as "Tabernacle" in CD 7:15 is not actually a name of the "books of the Law". "Sons of Zadok" in Ezekiel 44, says the author, means "the sect", but it does not follow therefore that they were called by that name.

P.Wernberg-Möller believes that the author of CD used this passage because it was possible to read the meaning "sons of righteousness" in פְּרִי צְדִיקָה.⁴ We know from such as 1QS 3:20 that the sect considered themselves in that light. It reads, "In the hand of the prince of lights is the rule over all the sons of righteousness (פְּרִי צְדִיקָה), in the ways of light they walk". Such is also the probable understanding of 1QS 9:14, "to weigh the פְּרִי צְדִיקָה according to their spirit". W.H.Brownlee suggests emending this to פְּרִי צְדִיקָה,⁵ but Wernberg-

4. P.Wernberg-Möller, "פְּרִי, פְּרִי, and פְּרִי in the Zadokite Fragments (CDC), the Manual of Discipline (DSD), and the Habakkuk Commentary (DSH)", VT III, 1953, pp.310,311.

5. W.H.Brownlee, BASOR SS 10-12, p.37, note 24; cf. M.Delcor, op. cit., pp.7,8.

Möller is probably correct in understanding it as qṭṭṭ ṭṭ (= qṭṭṭ ṭṭ), an easier change in light of the similarity between yodh and waw in many parts of the Scrolls.

I believe that there was an added reason why this verse was used. We know from 1QS 5:2,9 that the term qṭṭṭ ṭṭ was used to designate the priests alone. It reads, "according to the sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant, and according to the majority of the men of the community who hold firmly to the covenant" (cf. 5:21,22). So although the phrase "sons of Zadok" was perhaps never used as an actual name of the sect as a group, the reason for its use in CD 3:21-4:10 lies in part in the fact that here is stressed the priestly emphasis of the group. We know that the whole sect was considered in a priestly light. They believed that they would be the sanctuary for all of Israel. Thus the author is pointing out that in a real sense they were the spiritual "sons of Zadok".

2.

And this is the order of the meeting of [the] camps. They that walk in these during the epoch of wickedness until there shall arise the Messiah of Aaron and Israel (shall be) groups of ten men as a minimum, by thousands, and hundreds, and fifties, and tens. And in a place having ten let there never be absent a man, a priest, instructed in the book of hgw; according to his word shall all be ruled (CD 12:22-13:3)

Here is the description of the smallest unit within the camp,

and the instructions are that a priest is to be put in charge. This passage is echoed in 1QS 6:2-7 where it says, "and let each one according to his assigned rank sit before him (the priest), and in that order let them be asked (by the priest?) for their counsel with regard to every matter". The minimal group in 1QS is also "ten men" (6:3).

3.

And this is the order of the camp supervisor. He shall instruct the Many in the secrets of God⁶ (CD 13:7,8) . . . but if there is a judgment regarding the law of blemishes, then the priest (over 10 men) shall come and stand in the camp, and the supervisor shall instruct him in the exact meaning of the Law. (CD 13:4-6)

The Qumran sect was divided into various camps in different localities in Judah (cf. CD 12:19, "cities"; 12:23, "camps"). At the head of each of these camps stood a priest known as 772D, "supervisor". The fact that this supervisor is stated as one who 772D 772D . . . 772D shows clearly that he was a priest. Here he is described in terms reminiscent of the 772D of the Old Testament. Ch.Rabin points out that the LXX translates all cases of the root 772D in the Pentateuch by forms of ἐπισκοπέω.⁷ If this can be applied to the Qumran sect, it would mean that the 772D was similar to the Christian

6. Reading 772D with P.Wernberg-Møller, "Some Passages in the 'Zadokite' Fragments and their Parallels in the Manual of Discipline", JSS I, 1956, pp.123-125.

7. Ch.Rabin, op. cit., p.47, note 18.2.

ἐπίσκοπος, a financial administrator and spiritual guide.⁸

In 1QS 6:9-14 there are two words used to describe the leader of the camp---773D (6:12) and 777D (6:14). Context is better suited to equating the two, rather than seeing two men.⁹ The author is merely speaking of the same man under two titles. This was of speaking of the same man under two different names is seen in CD 14:7 and 15:8.

4.

And everyone from Israel who dedicates himself to join the council of the community . . . if the lot determines that he should draw near the assembly of the community, according to the judgment of the priests and the majority of the men of their covenant, his wealth and his property shall be conveyed to the man who is supervisor (773D) of the property of the Many, and he shall enter it to his credit, but shall not spend it for the Many. (1QS 6:13-20)

This passage does not expressly tell us whether or not this man was a priest. However the answer is given by 1QS 9:7, "only the sons of Aaron shall have authority in matters of law and property". Those dealing with property were priests; the supervisor of the property was therefore a priest. This is borne out further by a passage from Josephus (Ant. 18:1:5) referring to the Essenes, "they also appoint certain stewards

8. Cf. also Bo Reicke, Handskrifterna från Qumran (eller 'Ain Feshcha) I-III, p.76, note 75.

9. Cf. W.H.Brownlee, BASOR SS 10-12, p.25, note 27; H.H. Rowley, The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 37, note 1.

to receive the incomes of their revenues and of the fruits of the ground, such as are good men and priests who are to get their corn and their food ready for them" (cf. Wars 2:8:3). In the book of Nehemiah it says, "now before this, Eliashib, the priest, who was appointed over the chambers of the house of our God . . ." (13:4).

5.

The priest who מ'לך וא תפד' shall be from thirty to sixty years old, instructed in the book, and in all the rulings of the law, so as to speak to them in the proper manner.

And the supervisor over all the camps shall be from thirty to fifty years old, one that has acquired mastery in every secret of men and in every language according to their families. According to his word shall the members of the congregation come each man in his turn. (CD 14:7-11)

We are not given much information regarding this head supervisor. Was he too a priest, or was he a layman? M.H.Segal sees a two-headed leadership of the sect---a priest and a lay overseer.¹⁰ This is based on the passage just quoted. But let us examine it more closely. Two separate individuals are described---"the priest who מ'לך וא תפד'", and "the supervisor (תפד) over all the camps". I have left the Hebrew untranslated because of difficulty in interpretation. There are two problems in this passage. (a) The first concerns

10. M.H.Segal, "The Habakkuk 'Commentary' and the Damascus Fragments", JBL LXX, 1951, p.143.

the reading of WK. There are two possible ways of understanding this: either "the priest who musters the Many (taking the WK as a mistake for NK),¹¹ or "the priest who is appointed at the head of the Many" (taking the WK as a mistake for WK71).¹² L.Rost reads 7WK, but this renders the construction too awkward.¹³ A somewhat parallel passage occurs in LQS 6:14, "the man who is overseer (7'p7) at the head of the Many". This latter verse then provides the key to the solution. It is clear that we must emend WK to WK71. In CD this man is called a priest; in LQS he is known as an overseer. Therefore it would be possible to read in CD 14:7-11, "the overseer (7'p7) at the head of the Many . . . the supervisor (7'p7) over all the camps". But this does not show two supreme leaders. It depends of course upon the identification of this mysterious "priest who is appointed at the head of the Many". The solution is found in a proper understanding of the word 7'p7.

(b) Ch.Rabin holds that at one time 7'p7 is used of all the camps together (CD 14:7), and yet at another time it is

11. S.Schechter, op. cit., p.1111; R.H.Charles, op. cit., p.33; M.-J.Lagrange, op. cit., p.237.

12. Ch.Rabin, op. cit., p.68.

13. L.Rost, op. cit., p.25.

used only of the members of a single camp (CD 13:8).¹⁴ However I believe that ח'גג in CD and 1QS refers only to the individual camps, and therefore the "priest" in CD 14:7 is the "camp supervisor" of CD 13:7, and the "supervisor" of CD 14:9 is the priestly leader of all the camps combined, the high priest as it were. The text of CD 14:7-11 is then giving the qualifications for these two men, something that is not done elsewhere. Let us notice the relevant passages where ח'גג is found.

In 1QS there is only one important passage, though the word ח'גג occurs elsewhere,¹⁵ and this concerns the duties of the "overseer (ח'גג) at the head of the Many" (6:14). It says that he is to examine the neophyte "as to his understanding and deeds, and if he grasps instruction, he shall bring him into the covenant". Turning to CD 13:7ff. we find that the "camp supervisor" is to "instruct the Many in the works of God . . . and everyone that is added to the congregation, let him examine him about his actions and his understanding and his strength and his courage and his property". Here there is a clear parallel between CD and 1QS. The context in 1QS 6:14 would then be referring to the meeting of

14. Ch. Rabin, op. cit., p. 65, note 7.6.

15. In each case ח'גג refers to the individual camp; cf. 6:1, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 25; 7:3, 10, 13, 16, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25; 8:26; 9:2.

an individual camp.

In CD we find that מ'לך also only speaks of the local camp. The word occurs only three times aside from the passage under question. The first, 13:7ff., we have just noticed in the preceding paragraph as referring to a single camp, for it says that "the Many" are addressed by the "camp supervisor". The second, 14:12ff., reads, "this is the order of the Many for preparing all their requirements". The text then goes on to give various regulations for the caring of such as the poor, the widows, and the homeless. It also speaks of the "supervisor and the judges" who receive the wages of two days in every month. We know from CD 10:5ff. that the "judges" were for individual camps. It is also more logical to understand that the wages were brought to the supervisor of the individual camp, then to wait for a meeting of all the camps. The final passage, 15:7ff., concerns the entrance of new members into the sect. It says, "let no man let (the neophyte) know the rulings until he has stood before the supervisor (of the Many)¹⁶ lest he turn out to be a fool when he examines him" (15:10,11). This task of examining new members is the same as that of the "camp supervisor" in CD 13:7ff. and of the "overseer at the

16. The reference here is to 15:8 where the full phrase occurs---מבקר אשר לרבים.

head of the Many" in 1QS 6:14, both references to individual camps.¹⁷

So in every place that h'w'w occurs in CD and 1QS it is only used of the local camp. Therefore the "priest who is appointed at the head of the Many" in CD 14:7 is merely the leader of one camp, while the "supervisor over all the camps" in CD 14:9 is thus the supreme leader.

The place of the "supervisor over all the camps" is not too clear. It may be that he took charge at the annual covenanting of the camps (1QS 2:19ff.). He was also probably available for general counsel and advice. But to return to the original question---was he a priest? We have seen the priestly emphasis of the sect. There was a priest over ten men, over each camp, and over the property of the Many. We know that the Teacher of Righteousness was a priest. 1QS tells us that only the priests have authority in law and property. There was certainly a precedent in these times for priestly leadership. We know that the priest of the individual camp carried an identical title as that of this general supervisor---h'w'w. It is therefore logical

17. Strictly speaking h'w'w refers only to the full members of the camp. This is clear from 1QS 7:16,19 where the neophyte is excluded from the "purity of the Many" during the first year. The "purity", as J.M.Baumgarten points out (op. cit., p.148), refers to the ritually pure articles, especially food, which like the "drink of the Many" (1QS 7:20) were accessible only to the initiated members of the sect.

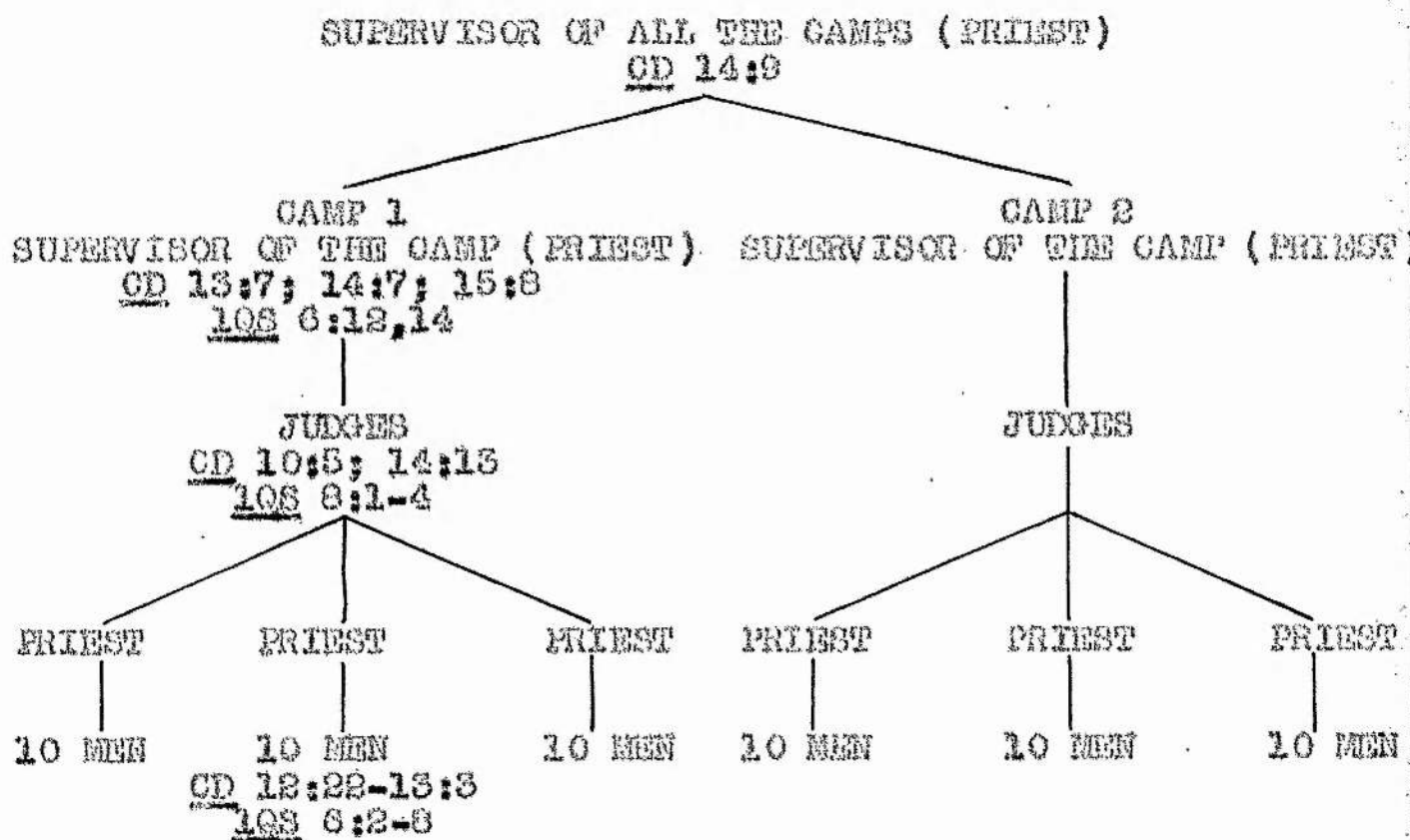
to say that the supreme leader was a priest. He did not share his authority with anyone else in some sort of a diumvirate. The passage in CD 14:7-11 has been shown to be unable to support this view. The very term "supervisor over all the camps" suggests a single leadership, as it does when it is used of individual camps. A man who is supervisor of everything does not, by the very definition of the term, share his authority.

A final word should be said about the judges. Their organization is given in CD 10:4-6, "and this is the order of the judges of the congregation. A number of ten men selected from the congregation for the occasion, four from the tribe of Levi and Aaron, and of Israel six",¹⁸ This two-fold division is not strange, for such was the case in Israel of old. Deuteronomy 31:9 speaks of "priests" and "elders", while 17:9,12 talks of giving the decision "to the Levitical priests and to the judge" (cf. Ex. 18:21-27). However since the priest alone was the ruler of each camp, and since 1QS 9:7 speaks of the authority in law and property belonging solely to the priests, how are we to understand the role of the judges, and of such passages as 1QS 5:2,3, "answering according to the sons of Zadok, the priests

18. Although 1QS does not expressly speak of judges, yet the fifteen men from Aaron and Israel in 8:1ff. (or else twelve, with three of them priests) are of the same order.

who keep the covenant, and according to the majority of the men of the community who hold firmly to the covenant. According to their judgment the decision of the lot is reached with regard to every matter, whether Torah, or property, or laws"? It is probable that after consultation on matters, the final decision was left up to the priests, or to the supervisor of the camp. So 1QS 9:7 can be translated, "only the sons of Aaron shall have (final) authority in matters of law and property".

Taking all these factors into consideration, the organization of the sect can be diagrammed as follows:



APPENDIX C

JOSEPHUS AND HIPPOLYTUS

The identification of the Qumran sect with the Essenes, or with an Essene-type group, has been made by the majority of scholars. If it is Essene the Scrolls add immeasurably to our sparse knowledge of this sect. Certain statements are made by Josephus and Hippolytus regarding the doctrines of the Essenes, so let us examine them in light of what we have learned about the Qumran eschatology. Hippolytus says,

The doctrine of the Resurrection is also strong among them. For they confess that the flesh rises again and will be immortal in the same way that the soul is already immortal. Which soul when it departs from the body, abides in an airy and well-lighted place until judgment, which place the Greeks hearing of it called (the) Islands of the Blessed . . . and (the Essenes) say also that there will be a judgment and a conflagration of the All, and that the unjust will be punished everlastingly. And prophecy and the foretelling of things to come are practised among them.¹

Josephus explains the eschatological doctrines of the Essenes in further detail. He writes,

The doctrine of the Essenes is this, That all things are best ascribed to God. They teach the immortality of souls, and esteem that the rewards of righteousness are to be earnestly striven for.²

1. Hippolytus, The Refutation of all Heresies, 9:27 (translation by F. Legge, Philosophumena or the Refutation of All Heresies (London: SPCK, 1921), II, p.144).

2. Josephus, Antiquities, 18:1:5 (translation by W. Whiston, The Works of Flavius Josephus (London: Virtue, 1841), p.531).

For their doctrine is this, That bodies are corruptible, and that the matter they are made of is not permanent; but that the souls are immortal, and continue for ever, and that they come out of the most subtile air, and are united to their bodies as to prisons, into which they are drawn by a certain natural enticement; but that when they are set free from the bonds of the flesh, they then, as released from a long bondage, rejoice and mount upward. And this is like the opinions of the Greeks, that good souls have their habitation beyond the oceans, in a region that is neither oppressed with storms of rain or snow, or with intense heat, but that this place is such as is refreshed by the gentle breathing of a west wind, that is perpetually blowing from the ocean; while they allot to bad souls a dark and tempestuous den, full of never-ceasing punishments . . . whereby good men are bettered in the conduct of their life by the hope they have of reward after their death; and whereby the vehement inclinations of bad men to vice are restrained, by the fear and expectation they are in, that although they should lie concealed in this life, they should suffer immortal punishment after their death.³

It is obvious that there is a measure of disagreement between Hippolytus, Josephus, and the Qumran Scrolls. The attention to resurrection that both writers give is strikingly lacking in the Scrolls. Some scholars have suggested that CD and 1QpHab hold out such a hope, but we have seen that the evidence does not support this theory. In any case Hippolytus' statement that "the doctrine of the resurrection is also strong among them" is false with respect to the Qumran sect. It is also noteworthy that Josephus and Hippolytus disagree

3. Josephus, Wars, 8:2:11 (translation by W. Whiston, op. cit., pp. 675, 676).

as to resurrection, the former holding to the rising only of the soul, while the latter teaches the resurrection of both body and soul. M.Black suggests that (a) Josephus was adapting and conforming his account to Greek conceptions, while Hippolytus was remaining faithful to his source, or (b) it is Hippolytus who is conforming his report of Josephus to Christian ideas and attributing such beliefs wrongly to the Essenes. However he concludes with the possibility that the Essenes may have taught both doctrines.⁴

The references in Josephus and Hippolytus to the everlasting punishment of the wicked agree with 1QS, but the rest of the Scrolls seem to hold the ordinary Sheol doctrine.

Hippolytus' "conflagration of the all" is reflected in 1QH, 1QpHab, and CD, but it must be tempered by the realization that this outpouring of fire does not destroy the world.

Both Josephus and Hippolytus claim that the Essenes believed in immortality, yet there is no such teaching in the Scrolls. Man would live forever only in his descendants, and the locale would be earth, not the heavenly sphere as they suggest.

4. M.Black, "The Account of the Essenes in Hippolytus and Josephus", The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology (W.D.Davies and D.Daube, editors; Cambridge: University Press, 1956), pp.172-175.

What is the reason for the discrepancies? I suggest three possible solutions.

(1) The sect was not the Essenes. Although many scholars claim that the Qumran group was the Essenes, all are not of the same mind. H. Orlinsky,⁵ M.H. Gottstein,⁶ and many others believe it was some other group.⁷

(2) The sect was earlier or of a different branch of Essenism than Josephus or Hippolytus knew. In other words the Qumran organization was "Essenish", but not "Essene". This is M. Burrows' view. He writes, "the sect of the Teacher of Righteousness and his followers . . . may probably be accurately included under the term Hasidim, but that does not indicate a specific sect. In many ways it was akin to the Essenes, as we know them from sources of the Roman period. If this term is used in a broad, comprehensive sense, we may legitimately call the Qumran sectarians Essenes".⁸

(3) Josephus and Hippolytus misunderstood the evidence.

5. Cf. E. Brodsky, "The Case of the 7 Dead Sea Scrolls", American Judaism V, 1955, pp. 14-16.

6. M.H. Gottstein, "Anti-Essene Traits in the Dead Sea Scrolls", VT IV, 1954, pp. 141-147.

7. Cf. the discussion of various views in H.H. Rowley, op. cit., pp. 78-83, and in M. Burrows, op. cit., pp. 273-298.

8. M. Burrows, op. cit., p. 298; cf. H.H. Rowley, op. cit., p. 82, who says "it would seem to be probable that the sect of the Scrolls developed into the Essenes".

In other words, the sect was the Essenes, but our information is inaccurate. B.J.Roberts has suggested that in areas aside from eschatology Josephus needs to be reinterpreted, and possibly corrected.⁹ Josephus claimed to know the Essene movement from the inside, to have been a member. But is this true? The secret doctrines of the group, of which their eschatology was undoubtedly a part, were hidden from the uninitiated. Only full members knew the inside truths. Perhaps Josephus had only been a novice, and had not been instructed in the sect's esoteric doctrines, for his claim that the Essenes believed in the immortality of the soul is clearly not in accord with the evidence of the Scrolls. In Hebrew thought the body was an inseparable element with the soul, and it is this that is taught in the Qumran Scrolls. The Greek concept of the body as the prison house of the soul had not influenced the sect. We have seen that all of the Scrolls look for the restoration of the days of Adam on earth, and not some bodiless existence in heaven. The answer to the source of Josephus' knowledge then is that he had heard in a general way of the inner doctrines of the sect. Perhaps he heard rumors that the Essenes believed they were to "stand in a rank with the angels". Influenced by Greek

⁹. B.J.Roberts, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Essenes", NPS III, to be published in Oct., 1956.

thought he would think of heaven and of existence for the soul alone. We have seen that this must be understood in a different way. Hippolytus' doctrine of body and soul immortality is closer to the Qumran belief, but he too of course is incorrect. Perhaps he did not understand their concept of "eternal life" as a reference merely to lengthened life, or was misled by Josephus whom he may have been correcting.

These are only suggestions. I am inclined to the last one, but M. Burrows' view has much to commend it. Perhaps a combination of (2) and (3) is the solution. Essene doctrine among the related groups was probably similar on the broad lines of theology and eschatology. Where it differed was regarding such things as local organization, marriage, and various other halakot. While the Qumran sect was not the Essenes, it was an Essene-type group sharing in common doctrines with other such groups. Josephus and Hippolytus misunderstood much of this basic "Essene" doctrine.

APPENDIX D

THE ORDER OF THE DOCUMENTS

Archaeological, paleographical, and linguistic evidence have given a general outline as to the age of the Qumran

manuscripts.¹ It appears certain that all of them were written before 70 A.D. The earliest of the Biblical fragments may be dated in the third century B.C., but the oldest of the more or less complete scrolls, 1QIsa^a, is from a little before 100 B.C. Next in line are 1QS, 1QSa, 1QSB² from around 100 B.C. The only other pre-Christian text is 1QpHab, dated in the last quarter of the first century B.C. The other Qumran Scrolls, 1QH, 1QM, and 1QIsb^b, were probably made during the first half of the first century A.D. The age of CD is generally conceded to be in the Middle Ages. It is important, however, to remember that the age of the manuscripts is something different from the date of composition.³ The two are not necessarily the same, as is the case with CD. The present manuscripts of that work are from the Middle Ages, but R.H.Charles suggests they were written between 18 B.C. and 70 A.D.⁴ This would agree with the fact

1. M.Burrows, op. cit., pp.73-119.

2. 1QSa and 1QSB, which were attached to the 1QS roll, are perhaps from an earlier period.

3. F.M.Cross, "Qumran Cave I", JBL LXXV, 1956, pp.123, 124, claims that due to the large number of פסוקים now known, especially from 4Q, it is probable that such works were rarely, if ever, copied, and therefore most of the פסוק scrolls are the autographs.

4. R.H.Charles, "Fragments of a Zadokite Work", The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, II, p.788.

fragments of CD were found at Qumran. However to know the age of a manuscript gives us a terminus ad quem for the actual writing of the document. Therefore I would suggest a possible order of documents based on theological and historical considerations.⁵

For a proper background to this it would be best if we first considered the history of the sect. This will help us in ascertaining the place of each scroll in the life of the community.

According to its own record, the Qumran sect first arose 390 years after God gave the Jews into the hand of the king of Babylon.

5. It is assumed in this discussion that since all of the scrolls come from the Qumran library they show development within the thought of the sect itself. I do not believe that they would have assembled an eclectic library on the order of present day collections, that is, having books with which they did not agree. H.F.D.Sparks, "The Books of the Qumran Community", JTS VI (NS), 1955, p.227, writes, "There is no more justification for supposing that all the books in the Qumran library were produced originally by members of the community to which the library belonged than there is for supposing either that all the books in the Bodleian Library at Oxford were written by members of the University of Oxford or that all the books in the library of Nashdom Abbey are works of Anglican Benedictines". This may be true as to their origin, but it should not necessarily imply that the books in the Qumran library were viewed in the same way as those in a modern library. The sect was not a university where subjects of contradictory viewpoints were taught. It was a narrow religious community with a common outlook on life. Therefore, at least at Qumran, the documents should be viewed as with those in the Old Testament---exhibiting development in doctrine, supplementary to one another, rather than contradictory. This I believe is borne out by the evidence.

And in the epoch of wrath, three hundred and ninety years after⁶ He had given them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, He visited them, and He caused to grow forth from Israel and Aaron a root of planting,⁷ to possess His land and to grow fat in the goodness of His soil. (CD 1:5-8)

It is doubtful that this chronological calculation must be taken literally. During the last centuries B.C. little thought was given to chronological accuracy. However it is fairly certain that the beginnings of the sect took place in the second century B.C.⁸

It is difficult to determine whether priest or layman was the instigator of this return to morality. It would seem from the phrase "Israel and Aaron" that a spontaneous feeling sprang up among both priests and laymen, who saw that they had drifted from God, who deplored the paganism and immorality of the nation, and who desired to return to God's

6. ^{אחרי}; I. Rabinowitz, "A Reconsideration of 'Damascus' and '390 Years' in the 'Damascus' ('Zadokite') Fragments", JBL LXXII, 1954, pp. 11, 12, says that lamedh never carries the meaning of "after" in Hebrew, but cf. E. Wiesenborg, "Chronological Data in the Zadokite Fragments", VT V, 1955, pp. 285-287, where this viewpoint is denied; also W. H. Brownlee, "Messianic Motifs of Qumran and the New Testament", NTS III, 1956, to be published, points out that I Kgs. 6:1 is an exact parallel to CD 1:6 in the use of lamedh with the infinitive to mean "after". It reads, "480 years after the going forth (^{אחרי}) of the children of Israel from the land of Egypt".

7. ^{אחרי}; cf. Jubilees 1:16; I Enoch 10:16; 93:2, 10; Test. Judah 24:4; Isa. 61:3 for similar phrases used of Israel.

8. Cf. H. H. Rowley, op. cit., pp. 62ff. for a good discussion of this problem.

way.⁹

In the early days of the community it could not strictly be called a sect. It was merely a pressure group lobbying for reform and a return to the ways of God. At that time the sect was in reality only the orthodox part of Judaism, emphasizing strict obedience to the Law and rigid observance of sacrificial laws. It could not yet be called a community of the "new covenant". There was nothing as yet really unique, unless one calls strict orthodoxy "unique" during those days when Hellenism was the vogue. But at that time they had access to the Temple, and perhaps for that reason we find references in CD to sacrifice and the altar. The emphasis of the group during those days was on the observance of all the ordinances.

All of these events probably took place during the twenty year¹⁰ period which CD 1:9 describes as an interlude of "wandering" without a real leader. Wickedness and corruption had increased in the priesthood, but the group was

9. R.H.Charles, Fragments of a Zadokite Work, p.x, says, "The Zadokite party represents an attempt at reform beginning within the ranks of the priesthood and extending outwards so as to embrace a strong lay element". Yet on the next page he suggests the possibility that it could have been a joint effort

10. May it not be that "twenty years" is figurative of a long period of time meaning, "as blind as one who can not see for twenty years", and not necessarily be an actual chronological reference (cf. CD 1:8,9)?

uncertain as to what to do. It was at this time of instability that God raised up for them the Teacher of Righteousness who banded them together into a more effective protest group. He directed them in the proper way of life, in the correct interpretation of the Law, in the understanding of the Messianic hope, and told them of the doom to fall upon the unrighteous in the coming days.

And they considered their trespass and they knew that they were guilty men, but they were like the blind and like them that grope their way for twenty years. And God considered their works, for with a perfect heart did they seek Him, and He raised for them Moreh Zedek (or, a teacher of righteousness) to lead them in the way of His heart, and to make known to the last generations that which He would do to the last generation, the congregation of the faithless. (CD 1:8-12)

In other words this 773 777D was literally the founder of the sect. How long he labored in his ministry we are not told. As the group gained in influence under its new leader, pressure was increasingly put on the high priest to abolish the pagan customs that had been instituted. But reform is never popular with those who need to be reformed. The high priest, realizing that this could only lead to trouble, and seeing his own power in jeopardy, began a counter-attack of persecution. As we know from 1QpHab this high priest or 777 777D instituted extreme measures against the sect.

Its meaning concerns the wicked priest whom, for an offence against the Teacher of Righteousness and the men of his council, God gave into the hand of his

enemies to abuse with smiting that he might be consumed with bitterness of soul because he had done evil against His elect. (1QpHab 9:9-12; cf. 8:9; 11:4; 12:2,8)

As the persecution continued to mount in fury, and the corruption of the priesthood increased, the Teacher of Righteousness, rallying his little band around him, broke with the Temple and fled to Damascus. It was there that the Teacher was killed by the wicked priest. This I believe is the teaching of the following passages.

And (the faithless) gathered against the soul of the righteous man and all those who walked uprightly their soul abhorred, and they persecuted them with the sword. (CD 1:20,21)

When the two houses of Israel separated, Ephraim became ruler over Judah, and all they that hesitated were given over to the sword, but those that held fast escaped to the land of the north. (CD 7:12-15)

God remembered the covenant of the forefathers and He raised from Aaron men of understanding, and from Israel wise men. And He caused them to hear, and they dug a well, the well which the princes dug, (which) the nobles of the people delved with the Lawgiver. The well is the Law, and those that dug it are they that withdrew from Israel . . . and the Lawgiver is the Searcher of the Law, as Isaiah said, Who brings forth a vessel for His work. (CD 6:2-8)

Its interpretation concerns the wicked priest who pursued after the Teacher of Righteousness to swallow him up in the indignation of his wrath in the place of his exile (מִן־הַמָּקוֹם). And at the time of the festival of rest, the Day of Atonement, he appeared unto them to swallow them up and for their stumbling on the day of fasting, their Sabbath of rest. (1QpHab 11:4-8)

[The interpretation of the saying concerns] the priest who rebelled . . . [persecuting the Teacher of Righteousness] 11 striking him with judgments of wickedness; and many profaners committed horrors on him, and took vengeance on the body of his flesh. (1QpHab 8:16-9:2)

Its interpretation concerns the house of Absalom and the men of their counsel who kept silent in the punishment of the Teacher of Righteousness, and did not help him against the man of untruth, who scorned the Law in the midst of all their counsel. (1QpHab 5:9-12)

And from the day that the unique teacher was gathered in until the being consumed of all the men of war who returned with the man of untruth is about forty years. (CD 20:13-15; cf. 19:35-20:1)

'The wicked watcheth for the righteous and seeketh [to slay him. The Lord will not leave him in his hand, nor] condemn him when he is judged'. Its interpretation concerns the wicked [priest] who sent to the Teacher of Righteousness . . . ? to slay him (רמיה) (4QpPsa 37:32,33)12

Two facts are fairly clear---the Teacher was killed,13 and the sect migrated to Damascus.14 But it has not been certain

11. פשר הדבר [ל הכוון אשר מרד] . . . [לדוף את מורה הצדק]

12. Following the translation of J.M.Allegro, "Further Light on the History of the Qumran Sect", JBL LXXV, 1956, p.94

13. This of course is not accepted by all, but cf. A. Dupont-Sommer, "Le Maître de Justice fut-il mis à mort?", VT I, 1951, pp.200-215 for a full discussion of these passages. The clearest reference is 1QpHab 11:5,6, "to swallow him (the Teacher of Righteousness) up in the indignation of his (the wicked priest) wrath". If Allegro's reconstruction is correct for 4QpPsa 37:32,33 the matter is put beyond doubt.

14. I.Rabinowitz, op. cit., pp.11-35, claims that "Damascus" is allegorical for the Babylonian Captivity in 586 B.C., but cf. A.Dupont-Sommer, "Quelques remarques sur le Commentaire d'Habacuc à propos d'un livre récent", VT V, 1955, (cont.)

until recently where the Teacher was put to death. Many scholars had held that the martyrdom took place in Jerusalem during the intense persecution by the wicked priest. This has been because the texts have not indicated with any clarity that the Teacher accompanied the group to Damascus. It has been the assumption that if the wicked priest killed him, he would have done it in Jerusalem. However the problem now appears to be solved. In the translation of 1QpHab 11:4-8 the correct rendering of לְבָנוֹן has been a subject of controversy. Most translators have derived the word לְבָנוֹן (or לְבָנוֹן) from the root, לָבַן, "to desire, wish". If the form is read as לְבָנוֹן it is generally taken as a construct or absolute, for to read it as a 2nd masculine singular is awkward in a 3rd person narrative. W.H.Brownlee at first

pp.126,127, note 3, who questions an allegorical name for the Captivity in Babylon, when it is found directly stated in many places in the Old Testament. Furthermore CD 2:5, 20:17, and 1QS 10:20 point out that the reason the sect left was not because they were captured, but due to the fact that they were "those who turned from wickedness". They left of their own accord, though of course persecution was an influencing factor. R.North, "The Damascus of Qumran Geography", PEQ 1955, pp.34-48, argues that the word "Damascus" is an appellation of the Nabatean kingdom, at least from 87 to 63 B.C., which included the site of Qumran. So when the sect fled to "Damascus", in reality it went to Qumran. This is possible, but it seems unnecessary to explain away the literal Damascus. J.C.G.Greig, "The Teacher of Righteousness and the Qumran Community", NTS II, 1955, p.121, holds that "Damascus" is not symbolic because 1QpHab 12:3ff. mentions "Lebanon" midrashically, and thus symbolically, as descriptive of the community council, and therefore this suggests that the sect's headquarters were in Syria.

suggested translating as "intending him to go into exile", understanding חָלַל as a Qal infinitive.¹⁵ However in a later article he says that חָלַל should be pointed as a Piel infinitive, and translates, "wishing to uncover him".¹⁶ J. van der Ploeg translates "voulant l'exiler", reading חָלַל as an infinitive construct without lamedh.¹⁷ K.Elliger takes חָלַל as an adverbial accusative and translates, "in der Absicht, ihn blosszustellen (oder: abzusetzen)".¹⁸

These examples have been, in general, the ways in which the passage was understood. However the real solution to the problem has been found in the Bar Kokhba letter discovered at Wadi Murabba'at. There the following phrase is found---

15. W.H.Brownlee, "The Jerusalem Habakkuk Scroll", BASOR 112, 1948, p.15; so also M.Delcor, "Le Midrash d'Habacuc", RB LVIII, 1951, pp.523,524. He points out that חָלַל and חָלַל verbs sometimes have the inf. const. form in the Qal inf. abs.; M.H.Segal, "The Habakkuk Commentary and the Damascus Fragments", JBL LXX, 1951, p.135, and note 16, reads חָלַל and understands it as a contraction of חָלַל בֵּית . He translates "to the place of his exile". Cf. M.Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p.370.

16. W.H.Brownlee, "Further Light on Habakkuk", BASOR 114, 1949, p.9.

17. J. van der Ploeg, "Le Rouleau d'Habacuc de la grotte de 'Ain Fesha", BO VIII, 1951, p.5; so also H.Michaud, "Un passage contesté d'un des Rouleaux de la Mer Morte", VT II, 1952, p.85; G.Vermès, "La communauté de la Nouvelle Alliance d'après ses écrits récemment découverts", ETL XXVII, 1951, p.75, notes 47,48.

18. K.Elliger, "Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer", BHT XV, 1953, p.212.

וְיָשָׁב אֶת־בֵּית מַשְׁכּוֹ, "who lives at Beth Mashku". The אֶת־ here is undoubtedly equal to אֶת־, as de Vaux has pointed out,¹⁹ and provides a clear parallel to 1QpHab 11:6. So אֶת־גִּלְגָּלִית is to be translated, as I have done above, "in the place of his exile".²⁰ A.M.Habermann and H.Yalon had originally suggested this as the interpretation of the passage.²¹ This renders more intelligible an otherwise difficult phrase, and gives us the solution to the problem of where the Teacher of Righteousness was killed. It was not in Jerusalem, but in the "place of his exile". Where was this? We know from CD that it was Damascus.

One of the Psalms of Thanksgiving may give further proof of this. 1QH 4:8,9 says, "For I was driven from my country as the bird from its nest". This psalm may well have been written by the Teacher of Righteousness, for later in the text it declares, "and through me Thou hast illumined

19. R. de Vaux, "Quelques textes hébreux de Murabba'at", RB LX, 1953, p.270; he points to parallel usage in the Tosephta and the Baraitas.

20. Cf. also A.Dupont-Sommer, VT V, 1955, p.126; originally he read, "On a osé le dévêtir", taking אֶת־ as an infinitive absolute (cf. VT I, 1951, p.210; "Encore sur le mot 'BWT dans DSH xi 6", VT II, 1952, pp.276-278).

21. As pointed out by de Vaux, op. cit., p.272; cf. S. Birnbaum, "The Beth Mashku Document", PEQ 1955, p.23, for a suggested evolution of אֶת־ from אֶת־.

the face of many, and Thou hast strengthened them until they were countless, for Thou hast given me knowledge of Thy wonderful mysteries, and in Thy marvelous assembly Thou hast exalted my place".

With this new information we are able to understand another passage. In CD 20:13-15 (translated above) it speaks about the "gathering in" or the death of the "unique teacher", that is, the Teacher of Righteousness. The passage says that his slayers "returned with the man of untruth". From where did they return? It is now clear that this speaks of the death of the Teacher in Damascus, and the subsequent return of the wicked priest and his men to Jerusalem. The identification of the "man of untruth" in this text with the "wicked priest" of 1QpHab is certain. In CD 1:14 this "man of untruth" is also called a "man of scorn".

Like a stubborn heifer, thus was Israel stubborn,
when there arose the man of scorn, who preached to
Israel waters of untruth.

Turning to 1QpHab 5:9-12 (translated above) we find that a "man of untruth"²² who "punished" the Teacher of Righteousness, that is, killed him, was also one who "scorned the Law". In 1QpHab 8:8,9 it says, "Its interpretation concerns the wicked priest who was called by the name of the truth when he first

22. Cf. also 2:1,2.

arose". The implication of this passage is that the wicked priest was no longer known by the "name of the truth", but was now a man of "untruth". Furthermore 1QpHab 10:9-13 speaks of the "oracle of untruth" (אִלְלָהּ אֱמֶת) who instructed Israel in "works of falsehood". His fate, and that of his followers, is to "enter judgments of fire because they cursed and insulted the chosen of God".

There can be no doubt then that the "oracle of untruth", the "wicked priest", and the "man of untruth" of 1QpHab are to be equated with the "man of untruth" and the "man of scorn" of CD. A. Dupont-Sommer, though equating the terms, says that the author of 1QpHab uses the phrases to speak of two distinct people, sometimes Aristobulus II and sometimes his successor Hyrcanus II.²³ H.H. Rowley believes that the description of the "man of scorn" indicates a foreign figure, and that the "man of untruth" of 1QpHab would not be a Jewish priest because he rejected the Law.²⁴ However the text of CD says that the "man of scorn" preached lies to Israel, or in other words, was a "man of untruth", and in 1QpHab 5:9-12, as we have seen, this "man of untruth" killed the Teacher of Righteousness. Now we know that the "wicked priest" did

23. A. Dupont-Sommer, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p.40; cf. also W.H. Brownlee, "The Historical Allusions of the Dead Sea Habakkuk Midrash", BASOR 126, 1952, pp.10-20.

24. H.H. Rowley, The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls, p.70, note 3.

this evil work. Is it not clear then that the "man of untruth", the "man of scorn", and the "wicked priest" are one and the same person? What CD 20:13-15 is saying is that forty years after the wicked priest and his band came to the desert of Damascus and slew the Teacher they would receive the judgment of God.

There is another passage to be considered in this regard. CD 7:18,19 reads, "and the star is the Searcher of the Law who came to Damascus, as it is written, 'a star shall step forth out of Jacob'". The fact that it has generally been believed that the Teacher of Righteousness was killed in Jerusalem has led some to maintain therefore that this "star" was another leader of the sect.²⁵ However since the previous facts have shown that the Teacher came to Damascus, there need be no problem about identifying him with the "star".

In the desert of Damascus the group entered into the "new covenant". The strict observance of the Law was demanded, and the sect's baptismal rites replaced the altar. The end time was in view. The Messiah would soon appear.

Sometime later it would appear that the sect drifted back to Jerusalem, for CD speaks of the Damascus events as past experience. They are back now in the vicinity of the

25. H.H.Rowley, op. cit., p.35.

Temple.²⁶ The community had become disappointed in the desert. The second Moses, the Teacher, had been killed, but still Elijah and the Messiah had not come. Now they had to revise their plans, to discover why there had been a delay. There could be only one solution---God had delayed in order to give a final warning to the people of Israel. He was long-suffering, "not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance". That was it! The end had been put off in order to give man another chance. Now was the time to return for a period of preaching (CD 20:14,15). So they became veritable John the Baptists, preaching repentance for "the kingdom of God is at hand".

The subsequent history of the sect is not known, nor how long it continued to exist. This is as far as our documents take us. Even if the community is identified with the Essenes, the evidence of Josephus, Philo, Hippolytus, and Pliny does not help us.

This interpretation of the history of the Qumran sect is admittedly based to some degree on conjecture. At this stage in the work on the Scrolls one can only make suggestions as to what seems to fit all the facts the best. It becomes increasingly clear to anyone who studies the Scrolls that

26. Cf. the discussion, infra, pp.78-80; also A. Dupont-Sommer, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p.60.

the texts are not the work of single authors. Therefore it is with caution that I try to separate the various strands as much as possible,²⁷ and suggest a possible order of composition. The Isaiah scrolls of course do not really enter into this discussion. In any case there is not enough evidence of theological change to posit any other dates than those given for the ages of the manuscripts.

1QSa and 1QSB are probably the earliest documents. They exhibit, aside from a few expected exceptions, a consistent Old Testament viewpoint---the continuation of the Davidic line and the Levitical priesthood, the restoration of the kingdom on the earthly sphere, the subjugation of the nations, no resurrection, no mention of punishment in Sheol, and no hope of immortality. While both of these texts depart from the Old Testament in their concept of the Messiah, the final battle does not even partake of the supernatural and cataclysmic character of the prophets or of the rest of the Scrolls. Evil is not destroyed; the Gentiles merely come under the suzerainty of Israel. The texts of both 1QSa and 1QSB are fragmentary and it is difficult to make a definite decision, but the general tenor of the texts is early. J.T.

27. J.T. Milik suggests that both 1QS and CD are revisions of the book of Hagu (cf. CD 10:6; 13:2). This would explain the differences in language, style, phraseology, etc.; cf. "Elenchus textuum ex caverna Maris Mortui", VD XXX, 1952, p.39.

Milik suggests a Hasidian date, as we noticed.²⁸ So both 1QSa and 1QSB were probably written during the desert period. The regulations are geared to the life separated from the Temple, and the blessings look forward to the re-establishing of the kingdom and the priesthood.

Probably around this time some of the Psalms of Thanksgiving came into being, though they may not have actually been written down until later.²⁹ The sect had been driven into the desert by persecution, and this is reflected in some of the psalms.

Mighty men have encamped against me;
 They have surrounded me with all their instruments
 of war,
 And have hurled down arrows without healing.
 The glittering of a spear with fire that consumes
 trees,
 And as the roaring of many waters is the tumult
 of their voices,
 A shattering downpour to destroy many people.
 (1QH 2:25-27)

They placed me as an object of scorn and of reproach
 In the mouth of all those who seek deceit.
 But Thou, O my God, hast helped the soul of the
 poor,
 And the poor of hand have been strengthened by Thee,

28. Cf. chapter I, p.13.

29. It is of course almost impossible to date the individual psalms. In general they reflect the severe persecution of the times, though there is the settled belief that God's purpose is behind it all, and ultimately they will triumph. Therefore the periods in the history of the sect to which I assign the various psalms are merely suggestions, and by no means definite.

And Thou hast redeemed my soul from the hand of
 the mighty,
 And among revilers Thou hast not put me in dismay,
 So that (I should) desert Thy service for fear
 of the destruction of the wicked.
 (1QH 2:33-36)³⁰

It was while they were in the desert, as we have seen,
 that the wicked priest pursued the group, and slew the Teacher
 of Righteousness. Possibly he wanted to be sure that there
 would not be a return in force to Jerusalem. Some of the
 sect apostasized and returned with the priest (CD 20:14,15).
 But the group did not despair for the Messiah was soon to
 come, and they would be vindicated. Sometime in this period
 in the desert it is possible that they devised the plans for
 the "holy army" which would go out to conquer the land under
 the Messiah, just as Israel of old took the promised land
 under Joshua's leadership. This would account for the
 writing of 1QM. 1QH 3 and 10, looking forward to final vic-
 tory, may also have come into being at this time. 1QH 3 says,

When the line of judgment has fallen,
 And the lot of anger upon the forsaken,
 And the pouring out of wrath upon the outcasts;
 When all Belial (shall have) a season of wrath . . .
 Then the earth shall cry out because of the destruc-
 tion which comes upon the world . . .
 For God shall thunder in the tumult of His strength.
 (1QH 3:27-34)³¹

30. Cf. 1QH 2:3-19; 5:20-39 ("they overtook me in Egypt"
 5:29); 7:1-5; 8:27-40.

31. Cf. 1QH 3:3-18; 4:23-40; 5:1-20; 6:2-36; 7:6-25;
 8:4-27; 9:3-36; 10:14-36; 11:3-34; 13:1-21; 14:1-27; 15:9-26;
 16:2-7, 8-19; 17:1-27; 18:1-31; frag 1,2,4,5.

1QH 10, though not speaking directly of victory, yet has a definite assurance about it that the turmoil of the world is only a passing thing. God has control of the world, and the end will surely come.

Behold Thou art prince of the mighty,
 And king of the notable,
 And lord of every spirit,
 And ruler over every work,
 So that apart from Thee one is not able to do anything,
 And can have no knowledge without Thy will.
 There is no one beside Thee,
 And no one equal with Thee in strength,
 And there is nothing over against Thy glory.
 (1QH 10:8-10)³²

As the days passed God did not come. Somehow the calculations had gone wrong, and so 1QpHab was written. The whole story of the persecution and death of the Teacher is told. The account of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Kittim is linked with these evil acts. Yet in the midst of all this an apologetic note is sounded. There must be an explanation for this delay. This is the impact of 1QpHab 7:10-14 where the author is interpreting Habakkuk 2:3 as a reference to the faithfulness of the "men of the truth".

Its interpretation concerns the men of the truth, the doers of the Law, who did not relax their hands from the doing of the truth in the lengthening upon them of the last epoch, for all God's times will come at their appointed times.

32. Cf. 1QH 1:3-38; 7:26-32; 12:2-35; frag 3.

1QH 4, with its note of delay, also may have been composed during this period. This psalm speaks of being driven into exile, of being persecuted by the wicked, but the thought is that though the wicked seem to be triumphing, God will soon surely consume them all.

Thou, O God, dost scorn all the devices of Belial . . .
 For (the wicked) have not hearkened unto Thy
voice,³³
 And have not given ear to Thy word,
 For they have said of the intelligent vision, It
 has not come to pass,³⁴
 And the way of Thy heart, It is not true.³⁵
 For Thou, O God, shalt answer them,
 Judging them in Thy strength because of their
 idols,
 And because of the multitude of their transgressions

 And those who are according to Thy soul shall stand
 before Thee forever,
 And those who walk in the way of Thy heart shall
 be established for eternity.
 (1QH 4:17-22)

After some time, we know not how long, the sect returned to Jerusalem. The reasons for this have already been noted. Now was the moment to explain the destruction that had come upon Jerusalem. It was because of sin and backsliding; it was God's warning. The date of the final appearance of the "glory of God" had been set---forty years from the death of

33. לֹא לִשְׁמֹעַ לְקוֹל בְּלִיָּאל.

34. לֹא נִכּוֹן, literally, "it is not established".

35. לֹא הֵיא, literally, "it is not that".

the Teacher of Righteousness.³⁶ But this message was still not received, for trouble only makes some men more stubborn, as it did Pharaoh of old. It was during this time that CD was probably written. Damascus is mentioned five times. The Teacher is one of the main characters. Here, as in 1QS, there is the concept of a prophet and the Messiah. However they are not now in the desert; that experience lies behind them. The "land of Damascus" and its "new covenant" are spoken of as past experience. CD 20:12 says, "the covenant and the charter which they established in the land of Damascus, which is the new covenant". If the writing took place at that spot, one would expect such as "the covenant which the community established in this land". There would be no need to mention the name of Damascus, nor to talk about "they" in the past time, if the sect was still in exile. No, they are back in Judea proclaiming the coming end of the wicked.

As we saw in chapter I (pp.15,16) CD is basically

36. Cf. J.M.Allegro, "A Newly-Discovered Fragment of a Commentary on Psalm XXXVII from Qumran", PEQ 1954, p.72,

'And in a little while the wicked will be no more, and I shall look carefully for his place, and it will be gone'. Its interpretation concerns all the wickedness at the end of the completion of forty years when there will not be found in the earth any wicked man. (1:5-7)

composed of two sections---1-8, 19-20 (DFa) and 9-16 (DFh).³⁷ It is difficult to say which of the two is earlier. Both speak of a return to sacrifice and of the Messiah of Aaron and Israel. But DFh does not have the imminent expectation of the end, as does DFa. It is, as Ch.Rabin points out, a section describing a community of farmers (12:10) and wage-earners (14:13), possessing slaves and property, who have the poor among them, and who apparently were less strictly organized than the community of 1QS.³⁸ The Teacher of Righteousness is never mentioned, nor is there any reference to his work. The period of forty years between the death of the Teacher and the coming of the Messiah is not discussed. DFh seems to be later therefore, if it can be dated at all. The community has settled down once more to the life of Jerusalem.

I would place 1QS last in order.³⁹ The establishing of

37. The designations DFa and DFh were suggested by I. Rabinowitz, "Sequence and Dates of the Extra-Biblical Dead Sea Scroll Texts and 'Damascus Fragments'", VT III, 1953, pp. 175-185. He gives the following order of composition: 1QS, the de Vaux fragment (cf. R. de Vaux, "La Grotte des manuscrits hébreux", RB LVI, 1949, pp. 605-609), DFa, 1QH 2:25-27, 33-36, 1QM, 1QH 3,10,4, 1QpHab, DFc (part of DFh), and DFh. He explains what he means by the content of DFc in "A Reconsideration of 'Damascus' and 390 Years' in the 'Damascus' ('Zadokite') Fragments", JB LXXIII, 1954, pp. 11-35.

38. Ch.Rabin, op. cit., p.xi.

39. Cf. the discussion, supra, chapter II, pp.56-58.

the "new covenant" is in the past, although it is not explicitly mentioned. Now they have an annual "renewal" of the covenant in which all the members of the sect take part. The rules show a considerable development of tradition.⁴⁰ The author speaks of two stages in the life of the community. First he writes of the communal life around Jerusalem, and of dealings with the Jews of the city. The sect, though perhaps nominally using the Temple, was clinging to its baptismal rites. The emphasis is on the fact that atonement is a spiritual matter.

For it is through a spirit of true counsel for the ways of a man that all his iniquities will be atoned so that he may look at the light of life, and through a holy spirit disposed toward unity in His truth that he will be cleansed of all his iniquities. (1QS 3:6-8)

However the author also looked for a future stage in the existence of the group. He looked for the not too distant Messianic days. He wrote of the time when the whole group would become a sanctuary for the sins of the nation, when they would go out into the desert to prepare God's way, when they would fulfill the spiritual expectations of the Servant of Isaiah. This is the meaning of the words, "when these things come to pass in Israel" (1QS 8:4,12; 9:3). The time when these events would take place would be contingent

40. Cf. M.Burrows, op. cit., p.229.

on the arising of Elijah, the prophet of 9:11. At the present time the sect was to remain faithful to God, to abide by the "first laws", the present ordinances, until the coming of this new lawgiver. He alone as God's messenger could bring the change and signal the imminent inauguration of the Messianic days. He would not delay for God's remnant had returned to His laws. They had fulfilled His demands. God would soon bring events to a conclusion, as He had promised.

We noticed that 1QS teaches the punishment of the wicked in Gehenna. Apocalyptic is making itself known. R.H. Charles says, "shortly after 100 B.C. Sheol is described for the first time as an abode of fire".⁴¹ This is interesting for the question of the date of 1QS. The archaeological evidence has set the age of the scroll as from around 100 B.C.

⁴¹. R.H. Charles, Religious Development Between the Old and New Testaments, p.121.